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RADIO BROADCASTING IN COMMUNIST CHINA

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June 1, 1964

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This report on radio broadcasting in Communist China is a result of a four-month study. Though this is an intermediate report, all the major sources on this subject in Chinese available publicly abroad have been exhausted.

After 1959, publication of nationwide statistical information stopped. However, regional statistics have occasionally appeared in the Communist Chinese press. These data have been integrated into a map survey, attached to the end of the report.

This report has also used several publications from Taiwan. The major ones are: Study on Communist China (Fei-Chin Yen-Chiu), published by the Intelligence Bureau of the Ministry of National Defense, Republic of China; The Eighth Serial of 'Know your Enemy' (Jen-She Ti-Jen Ti Pa Che), published by Central Publishing Company for Cultural Materials; and Quarterly Report on the Communist Mainland (Ta-Lu Fei-Chin Che-Pao), published by the Sixth Division of the Nationalist Party (Kuomintang), Republic of China.

These are classified publications on Taiwan but are available publicly in the United States (in the Chinese-Japanese Library, Harvard University, Eastern Asia Research Center, Harvard University and Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.). Since these reports are also based on Communist literature, there is no reason for distrusting their content more than we do Communist literature.

Otherwise, all information is based on Communist Chinese and Western sources.

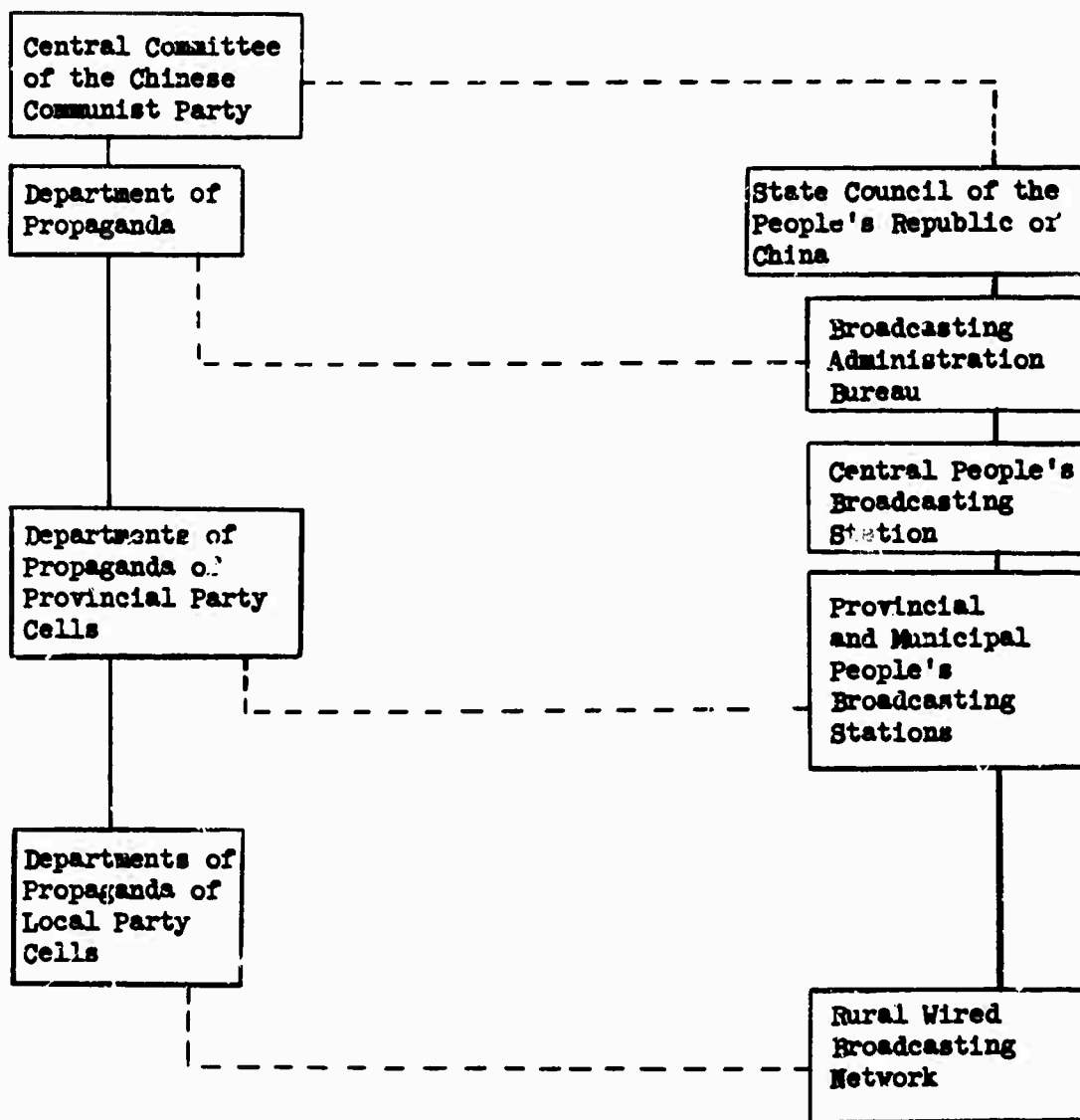
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Radio Broadcasting Within the Overall Propaganda Network  
in Communist China



----- Policy control

\_\_\_\_\_ Administrative hierarchy

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## RADIO BROADCASTING IN COMMUNIST CHINA

### I. The Background

When the Chinese Communists took over the mainland, nearly 80 to 85 percent of the population were illiterate. Today 78 to 80 percent still are. Handicapped by the high illiteracy rate, the Peking regime has to develop an extensive and effective broadcasting system and to exploit every potential of oral communication in the service of propaganda and agitation.

This is no easy task. China is a vast land of 3,601,592 square miles. Its people, including 50 minority groups, are widely divided by distinctly different dialects. And it has only a limited number of radio sets.

In 1949, there were 49 public and 33 private radio stations in China. Out of the 33 private stations, 22 were in Shanghai, 3 were in Chungking, and the rest were in a few port cities in East China. More than half of the public stations were in Manchuria and East China.<sup>1</sup>

The distribution of radio sets was similarly uneven. The Communists estimated that in 1950 there were 1,000,000 to 1,100,000 radio sets in China. Half of these were the three- or four-valve medium frequency types made in Japan. Of these, 350,000 to 400,000 were in Manchuria and East China, 20,000 in North China (most of them concentrating around Peking and Tientsin) and 100,000 sets in other areas. There were 200,000 other repaired but serviceable sets.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Yi, Mei, "The People's Broadcasting Enterprise in our Country," Jen-Min Jih-Pao (People's Daily), April 25, 1950.

<sup>2</sup>Yi, Mei, loc. cit.

Little information is available in ownership of those sets. It is generally known, however, that in the coastal provinces of Chekiang, Kiangsu, Fukien and Kwantung, radio sets were owned largely by the wealthy merchants and politicians.<sup>3</sup> According to the Communists, "among these 1,000,000 sets, a few belonged to people of the working class."

Understandably, the few electronic factories were found in East China in 1949. Under the Nationalist government, a radio factory was built in Nanking. But it could only assemble Philco radios from parts made in the United States.<sup>4</sup> In Shanghai there were several private radio factories. But, according to the Communists, most of the factories were able to turn out only simple parts such as paper condensers and variable condensers. At best they could make half of the parts in a radio. The rest had to be imported from the West. No vacuum tube was manufactured in China until 1949.<sup>5</sup>

There is no doubt that the Communists inherited some of these factories from the Nationalist government in 1949. This is evidenced by the fact that Nanking and Shanghai still remain as the two major centers of radio manufacturing in Red China today.

## II. The Radio Broadcasting Monitoring System

### Description of the monitoring system

In February, 1950, the Communist government established the now

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<sup>3</sup> Most of the Kuomintang officials had sideline business.

<sup>4</sup> Hsin, Su, "Nanking Makes Its Own Consumers' Goods," China Reconstructs, Vol. 10, No. 3, March, 1961, p. 16.

<sup>5</sup> Wuhsientien Yu Tien-shih (Radio and Television), No. 10, 1959, p. 3-4.

defunct Information Administration under which were all the newspapers, broadcasting stations, New China News Agency and international propaganda machinery.<sup>6</sup> All radio work was directed by the Bureau of Broadcasting. A Russian-educated engineer, Li Chan, headed the Bureau. His deputy was Mei Yi, former editor-in-chief of the New China News Agency.<sup>7</sup>

A "Conference of Information Workers" was called by the Information Administration, and it lasted from March 29 to April 16, 1950. Subsequently, on April 23, 1950, the Information Administration issued its "Decisions on the Establishment of a Radio Broadcasting Monitoring Network."

The full text of the document follows:

Decisions on the Establishment of Radio Broadcasting  
Monitoring Network

Radio broadcasting is one of the most effective tools for mass education and propaganda. It is even more useful in our country, considering the high rate of illiteracy, the poor communication system and the shortage of newspapers. For the past year the people's broadcasting work has developed rapidly. In many local organizations and the armed forces, special persons for monitoring the programs of the Central People's Broadcasting Station have been appointed. The results are good. In order to organize radio listening among the people effectively, the following decisions have been made:

1. All the county<sup>8</sup> and municipal people's governments, which

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<sup>6</sup> Frederick T.C. Yu, The Propaganda Machine in Communist China, Human Resources Research Institute, Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama, 1955, p. 32.

<sup>7</sup> Jen-She Ti-Jen Ti Pa Che (The Eighth Serial of 'Know Your Enemy'), Taipei, Central Publishing Company for Cultural Materials, 1952, pp. 97-98.

<sup>8</sup> China is divided into provinces, each of which comprises an unspecified number of counties (hsien), generally from 60 to 100. Counties are subdivided into townships (hsiang), each of which consists of a number of villages. A county ranges from less than 10,000 to more than 10,000,000 of population, but generally between 200,000 and 300,000 inhabitants.

have as yet no broadcasting monitors, should appoint appropriate persons within<sup>9</sup> the government to be monitors, except in those big cities where daily newspapers are available.

The duties of the monitors are to listen to and take down news, political instructions and other important content broadcast by the Central and Provincial People's Broadcasting Stations. The monitors should introduce and announce the programs broadcast by the stations mentioned above and organize the local people to listen to important programs (such as lectures by government leaders and special lessons on social science). The county and municipal government and the local People's Education Bureaus<sup>10</sup> should circulate the news, instructions and other important contents taken down by the monitors through small newspapers,<sup>11</sup> wall newspapers or duplicated bulletins.<sup>12</sup>

2. Those units in the People's Liberation Army that as yet have no monitors should appoint appropriate persons within the political sections<sup>13</sup> at all levels to be monitors. The monitors' duties are same as those of the civilians. The political staffs at each unit should circulate the news, instructions and other important content taken down by the monitors through small newspapers, wall newspapers and duplicated bulletins.

3. All organizations, agencies, factories and schools should appoint monitors and the number of monitors is at each unit's own discretion. The duties of these monitors are to introduce and announce the broadcasting programs of the Central and Provincial People's Broadcasting Station and to organize persons within the unit to listen to important programs and to take down news which should circulate among the factory workers, students in school and staff members in State agencies through duplicated bulletins.

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<sup>9</sup> The underline is by this author.

<sup>10</sup> This so-called People's Education Bureaus were leftovers of the Nationalist agencies whose duty was to promote literacy among the population.

<sup>11</sup> In plain words, small newspapers are mimeographed pamphlets.

<sup>12</sup> The mimeographed pamphlets are pasted onto blackboards which were set up in street corners and in hallways of public buildings.

<sup>13</sup> The political sections are the Chinese Communist counterparts of the Russian political commissars.

4. The activists<sup>14</sup> among the people should volunteer to the broadcasting stations in the locality to be monitors. Their duties are to set up radio monitoring teams, to promote propaganda for the content of broadcasting, to recommend programs to the listeners and to invite people to participate in broadcasting.

5. All the monitors should register with the Central or Provincial People's Broadcasting Stations and submit monthly reports on the state of their monitoring work and the listeners' reactions. It is the responsibility of these stations to guide the monitors' work, help them purchase, order, operate and repair radio sets, loudspeakers and gramophone records and improve the broadcasting content in the light of the listeners' reactions.<sup>15</sup>

The "monitors" were recruited from the staff members of the local government and the "activists" among the people. The so-called "activists" were those 1) who had "high political consciousness" and were willing to work for the local Party, 2) who were more capable to do the type of work specified than the cadres and 3) who had enough education to be a liaison between the higher authority and the masses.<sup>16</sup>

#### Patterns of Radio Broadcasting Monitoring

After the Decisions on the Monitoring Networks was approved by the State Council -- the executive branch of the Communist government -- a nationwide campaign began.

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<sup>14</sup> The so-called "activists" are persons among the population at large, who are considered politically reliable. More discussion on this type of persons follows in this report.

<sup>15</sup> From Kwanpu Soujin Shou Ts'e (Handbook of Broadcasting Monitoring), Peking, Sanlien Book Store, pp. 1-2.

<sup>16</sup> From Yi Kao Chi Ch' Fen Tze Lien Hsi Twing-chung, Twa Tun Kun Tso (Rely on the Activists to Establish Relationship with the Masses and to Carry Out Work Plan), Peking, Youth Publication Company, 1952, p. 12.

"To be a liaison" may refer to the ability to read the Party's instruction and write up reports of work.

Every county government started to investigate the number of usable radio sets in the area. As stated in the Decisions of the Information Administration, the radios used by the monitors were supposed to be purchased. Yet in some provinces, private radio sets were requisitioned for monitoring purposes. For instance, it was reported that 20 percent of the 100,000 radio sets privately owned in the South-Central District<sup>17</sup> were requisitioned for monitoring. The remaining 80,000 sets were scattered among the residents and the stores for individual listening.<sup>18</sup>

After acquiring the radio sets, the local governments proceeded according to the Information Administrations decisions to appoint full-time or part-time monitors. Presumably the monitors would receive technical training from the local stations and operate in the way prescribed in the Decisions on the Monitoring Network, to monitor news from the Central and Provincial People's Broadcasting Stations and then distribute it through pamphlets or blackboard bulletins.

A monitor's second duty was to organize the local people for collective listening. The methods of organizing varied from place to place. In a small village or county, the monitor needed hardly any organizing. He could bring the radio set to the village square where peasants gathered daily to trade with each other or to buy some consumer goods from merchants. To many simple-minded peasants, radio was still a novelty and it often drew a large crowd as the one shown in the picture on page 7a.

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<sup>17</sup> In the initial period of the new Communist regime, it divided China into six administrative districts: Inner Mongolia, Northeast, North, Northwest, Southwest, South-central, and East China.

<sup>18</sup> Chung-Nan Kwang-Pu (Broadcasting in South-Central District), June 1, 1951, p. 5.

Monitors in big cities faced different problems in organizing collective listening. The Party's organ, the People's Daily, called for "educating tens of thousands of people simultaneously through radio broadcasting."<sup>19</sup> It was reported that in Wuhan of Hupeh 500,000 people were organized to listen to the live broadcast of the "Accusation Meeting of the Suppression of Counter-Revolutionaries" on April 15, 1951.<sup>20</sup> For an audience of such size, the possible places were the athletic fields in schools and the parks.

Monitoring in factories, mines and enterprises was organized as follows: "In all publicly-run factories, mines, and enterprises where there are 300 or more workers or staff members and where no wired speakers have been set up, the labor unions in the unit should cooperate with related administrative units to plan for the setting up of such a system...."<sup>21</sup> The monitors were stationed in the dormitories in all public-owned factories and mines. They were required to organize workers and their families for collective listening.<sup>22</sup>

#### Administration of Monitoring Teams<sup>23</sup>

The monitors were formally under the dual leadership of the local government and the Provincial or Municipal Information Administration.

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<sup>19</sup> People's Daily, June 6, 1950.

<sup>20</sup> "One Year of People's Broadcasting Enterprise," Hsin-Hua Yueh-Pao (New China Monthly), Vol. 4, No. 1, May 25, 1951, p. 181

<sup>21</sup> Frederick T.C. Yu, Ibid, p. 39.

<sup>22</sup> Frederick T.C. Yu, loc. cit.

<sup>23</sup> Sometimes it was called monitoring stations.

GRAPHIC NOT REPRODUCIBLE



A monitoring team in a remote village in Yunnan Province. The people in the picture belong to a minority group, the Lisu, whose total population is 317,465. (The picture is from Ta-kung, Lin, "Broadcasting for the People," China Reconstructs, Vol. IV, No. 8, August, 1955, p. 2. The figure is from New China Year Book (Japanese text), 1963, Tokyo, China Research Institute, p. 103.)

Actually, all monitoring teams were supervised by the Provincial or Municipal People's Broadcasting Station and the Party cells.<sup>24</sup>

The provincial or municipal offices of the Information Administration held regular meetings for the representatives of monitors in various areas to discuss working conditions and to explore possibilities of improving the monitoring work. The local offices of the Information Administration were responsible for the training both technically and politically.<sup>25</sup>

#### Broadcasting Monitoring in the Army

As stated in the Information Administration's decisions on monitoring, members of the "political department" at various levels should be selected as monitors. The duties of a military monitor are the same as those of a civilian monitor.

By 1952, the armed forces in East China had more than 3,000 radio sets. However, it is not known how many soldiers were served by these sets.<sup>26</sup>

To illustrate the operation of monitoring teams in the army, we quote a report by two monitors in a regiment in South-Central China:

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<sup>24</sup> The Eighth Serial of 'Know Your Enemy', op. cit., p. 99.

<sup>25</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>26</sup> Liu, Tang-Shun, "Some Thoughts on the Radio Monitoring Work at Company Level," Chung-Nan Kwang-Pu (Broadcasting in South-Central District), October 1, 1951, p. 17.

The "political department" in Red China's armed forces is the counterpart of the Russian political commissarial system.

Since January (1951) almost all the units in our regiment have bought radios.... Now, our regiment has 21 radio sets, one for each company. Ten units have bought loudspeakers. The regiment's Political Section has made detailed regulations on the use and maintenance of these radio sets. The regulations forbid listening to 'Voice of America' and the reactionary broadcast from Taiwan. It also forbids the use of these radio sets for personal recreation.

When it is the time for listening, the company commanders would assemble all the comrades and we listen together. In case of important news or reports, the company commanders would conduct a roll call after radio listening.

The monitoring teams are formed at each company by 13 to 14 comrades and in each platoon by three to four comrades who are better educated than others. The monitoring comrades take turns to organize listening, collect listeners' reactions and encourage soldiers to write letters to the stations.<sup>27</sup> News monitored is circulated through small newspapers and duplicated bulletins.

The monitoring teams often meet to discuss how collective listening could be better organized.<sup>28</sup>

Over the years, the growth of radio monitoring teams and stations was as follows: (See Table 1 on page 10.)

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<sup>27</sup> To promote literacy in the Army and soldiers' prestige, the Central People's Broadcasting Station in Peking added a special "Armed Forces Hour" to its schedule in 1951. Soldiers were encouraged to write to this station which edited the letters and broadcast them.

<sup>28</sup> Liu, Tang-Saun, op. cit., p. 17.

TABLE 1: Growth of Radio Monitoring Teams and Stations <sup>29</sup>

| Year | Number of<br>Monitoring Teams   | Number of<br>Monitoring Stations  | Number of Monitors |
|------|---|---|--------------------|
| 1951 | 15,200<br>(2,254 in medium<br>and small cities)   | no data   | 14,260             |
| 1952 | no data   | 20,519  | 42,722             |
| 1953 | 15,850  | 20,519  | no data            |
| 1955 | no data <sup>30</sup>   | 50,200<br>(11,000 in counties;<br>20,000 in armed forces;<br>11,000 in fishing coops.;<br>1,500 in minority race regions) | no data            |
| 1956 | 48,700<br>(11,000 in counties;<br>17,000 in coops.;<br>20,000 in rural and<br>minority regions) <sup>31</sup> | no data   | no data            |
| 1957 | (1,285 in minority<br>area of Yunnan Province)  | no data   | no data            |
| 1958 | (561 in Tais and Lisus<br>race regions of Yunnan<br>Province)   | no data   | no data            |

<sup>29</sup> The 1951 figures are from "Great Effort to Expand Broadcasting among Workers," Broadcasting in South-Central District, op. cit.; 1952-1956 from the Eighth Serial, op. cit.; 1957 from the People's Daily, February 15, 1957, and 1958 from the People's Daily, February 25, 1958.

<sup>30</sup> Since the Communists used the terms of "teams" and "stations" indiscriminately (Ref. p. 8), the figure of monitoring stations of 1955 conceivably includes the number of teams. If we add the number of teams and stations in 1953, we obtain 36,369. It is reasonable that after a two-year period, the total number of teams and stations should reach 50,200 as given in 1955.

<sup>31</sup> The same estimate holds for the number of teams in 1956 which must have included the number of stations. The reduction of number clearly is due to the missing of number of monitoring teams in the armed forces.



"Radio Monitoring in the  
People's Liberation Army"  
(from People's Liberation  
Army Pictorial, February  
1952, pp. 26-35.)

Two training classes of  
monitors in the army.  
(Note that the monitors  
are women in uniform.)

Left: Lesson on medium-  
oscillator.

Below: Lesson on the  
structure of radio.



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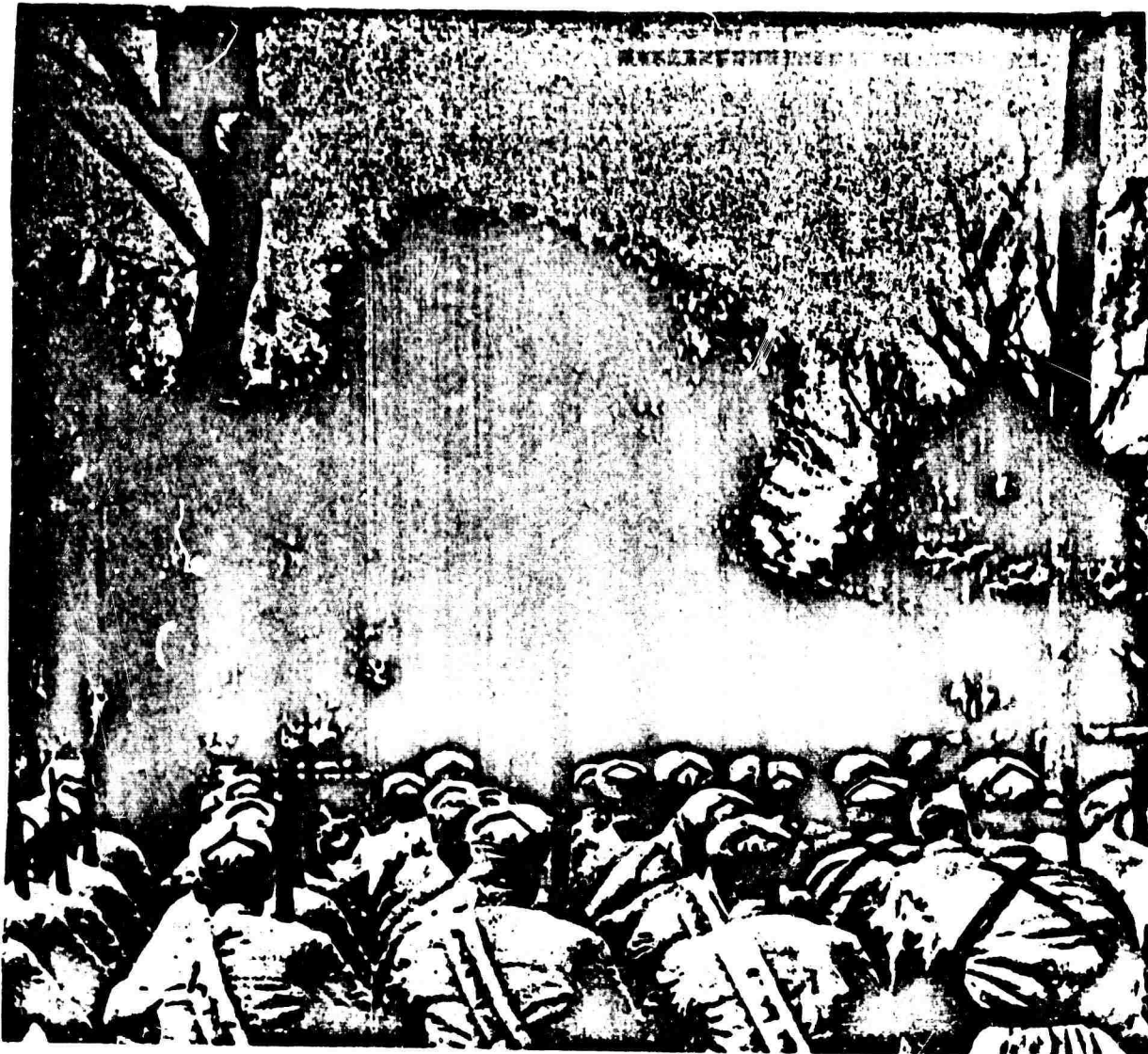


Above: Learning to write down news dictated by the station.

Below: The political director is taking down the content of "Armed Forces Hour" of the Central People's Broadcasting Station.



Collective listening: the loudspeaker is that black square object on the tree to the left.



A monitoring team operating on the Korean front.



News is monitored.



News is mimeographed.



News is "broadcast" through a "paper speaker."



News is posted on a bulletin board.

### Transition to Wired Broadcasting

The monitoring teams were in full swing from 1950 to 1955. After 1956, with the collectivization of villages, Peking began to turn its attention to wired broadcasting stations.

The Party's first Five-Year Plan specifies that in the latter two years of the Plan, 1956 to 1957, wired stations should be built to replace the monitoring teams. However, monitoring teams would continue expanding in the regions inhabited by the minority people.<sup>32</sup>

### III. Wired Broadcasting in Communist China

#### A Description of the System

Wired broadcasting was first used extensively in the Soviet Union under a different name -- "the radio diffusion exchange." Communist China's wired broadcasting is identical with the Russian diffusion exchange in certain aspects.

Professor Inkeles wrote of the Russian diffusion exchanges:

The equivalent of the radio station in the system of wired reception is the diffusion exchange. The exchange has a powerful aerial receiver that picks up the broadcasts from the central or local radio stations. The broadcasts picked up by the receiver as well as those brought in directly over the inter-city telephone lines, as in an ordinary radio hookup, are intensified and strengthened. They are then sent over a system of wires, radiating in all directions from the exchange, to the home of the subscriber. There the subscriber's wired radio speaker transforms the electrical signal into the usual sounds.

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<sup>32</sup>"Struggle to Realize the First Five-Year Plan on Radio Broadcasting," Wuhsientien (Radio), No. 9, 1955, p. 3.

There will be a separate section on broadcasting in areas inhabited by the minority people.

The exchange's receiver, which is the core of the system, may range from complicated, specially constructed, multiple-tube receiving sets capable of picking up short, medium, and long waves at considerable distances, to ordinary battery-type receivers such as are frequently used on farms....<sup>33</sup>

The Chinese wired broadcasting stations can be similarly classified into two types: the complicated and the ordinary battery-operated receivers.

The first type consists mainly of an amplifier and a switchboard which are housed in a studio, shown in the picture on the next page (p. 11b). The serial receiver of the station picks up the broadcasts from the Central and Provincial People's Broadcasting Station. The broadcast then is amplified and sent through the switchboard to the loudspeakers in village squares, communal dining halls, factories and other public places.

The second type of wired receiver consists of a five or six-valve radio and a microphone as shown below. A group of loudspeakers is connected with this receiver. The operator can plug in the microphone and make a direct statement.



A communal wired station in the mountainous region in Fukien. This is the second type of wired broadcasting we described above. (The picture is adopted from Wuhsientien (Radio), No. 1, 1960).

PHOTOCOPY NOT REPRODUCIBLE

<sup>33</sup> Alex Inkeles, Public Opinion in Soviet Russia: A Study in Mass Persuasion, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1958, pp. 239-240.

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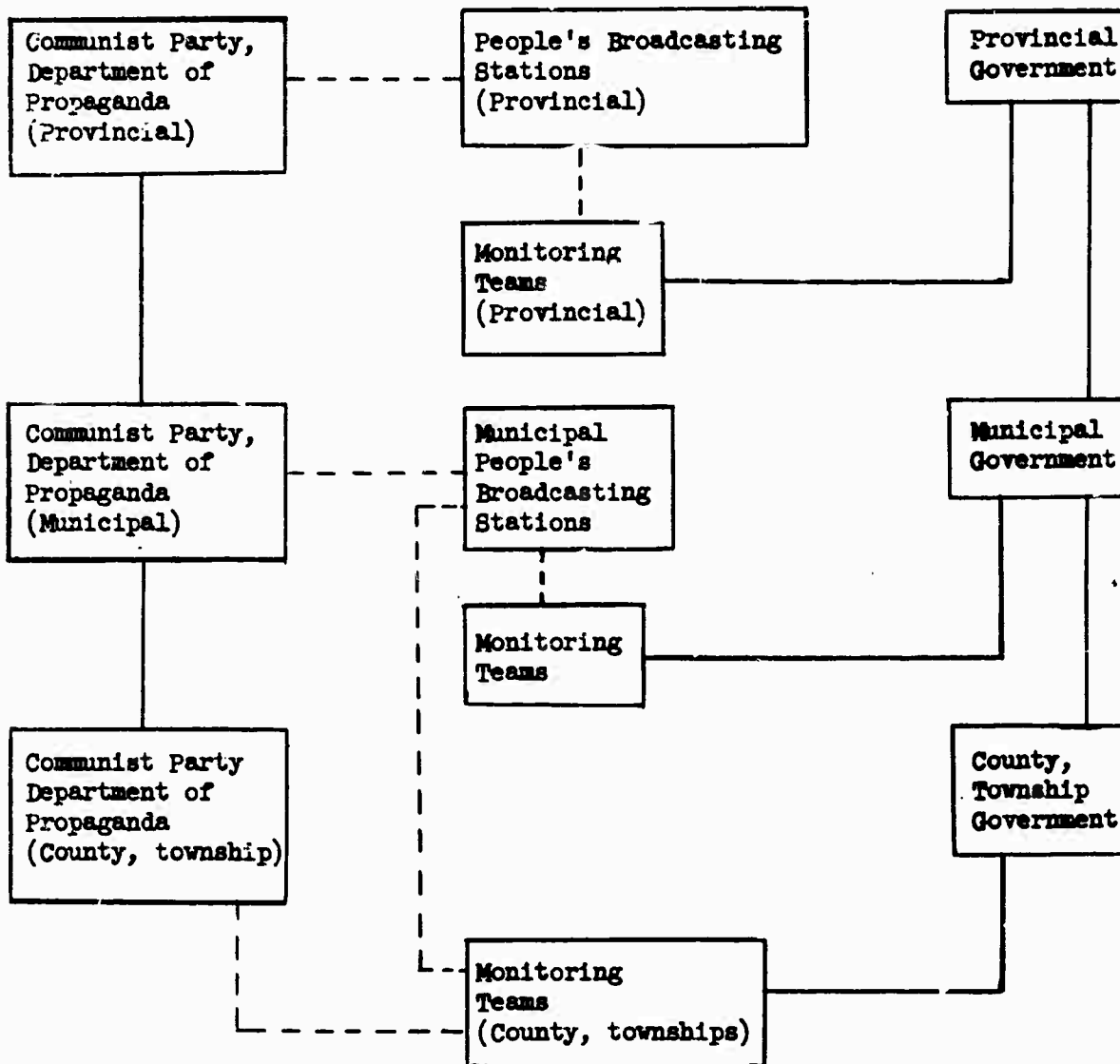


Shown here is the wired broadcasting station of "Red Star" (Hung Hsin) Collective Farm in the outskirts of Peking. This farm is considered to be a model and was shown to all the foreign visitors to Red China.

The amplifier is on the left corner of the picture and a gramophone is on the switchboard.

(The picture is adopted from Wuhsientien (Radio), No. 2, 1956, inside cover.)

Figure 1: Control and Administration of the Monitoring Teams



----- Policy control

\_\_\_\_\_ Administrative relationship

In March, 1955, the Broadcasting Administration Bureau distributed 10,000 radio receivers to densely populated agricultural, animal husbandry and fishery cooperatives and 1,500 receivers to the minority groups in Yunnan, Kweichow, Sinkiang, Hainan and Inner Mongolia.<sup>34</sup>

The receivers were originally used for monitoring work. In late 1958, those sets were utilized for wired broadcasting. The following is a description of the four types of battery-operated receivers distributed to the above-mentioned regions for wired broadcasting:

1. Super-infradyne five-valve battery-operated, D.C., receiver; designed specially for small towns and villages without electricity service.<sup>35</sup>

Frequency: Medium-wave: 550-1600 K.C.  
Short-wave: 3.8-12.2 M.C.

Battery: Two A batteries and two B batteries

2. Super-infradyne five-valve battery-operated, D.C., medium-short wave receiver; designed for regions without electricity.<sup>36</sup>

Frequency: Medium-wave: 550-1600 K.C.  
Short-wave: 5.5-18.5 M.C.

Battery: A and B battery

3. Super-infradyne five-valve battery-operated, D.C., medium and short-wave receiver.<sup>37</sup>

Frequency: Medium-wave: 550-1600 K.C.  
Short-wave: 3.9-12.5 M.C.

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<sup>34</sup> Wuhsientien (Radio), No. 5, 1955, p. 4.

<sup>35</sup> Wuhsientien (Radio), No. 5, 1955, p. 19.

<sup>36</sup> Wuhsientien (Radio), No. 6, 1955, p. 21.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., p. 82.

4. Super-infradyne five-valve battery-operated, D.C., medium and short-wave receiver; designed for villages, towns and fishing ports and also for use of geological survey teams.<sup>38</sup>

Frequency: Medium-wave: 520-1600 K.C.  
Short-wave: 3.9-12.1 M.C.

Battery: Two A batteries and two B batteries

There is another type of receiver produced in China that could be used for wired broadcasting:<sup>39</sup>

Title: Yuan Chen Radio (Long Distance Radio)

Structure: Super-infradyne, nine-valve, A.C., relaying radio set; loudspeakers could be connected.

Frequency: Medium-wave: 550-1600 K.C.  
Short-wave: 3.9-7.5 M.C.  
9.2-12 M.C.  
14.6-18 M.C.

The Chinese Communists have two major reasons for their plans to develop wired instead of wireless broadcasting.

First, wired broadcasting, the Chinese Communists frankly admit, is cheaper than wireless broadcasting. According to a Communist estimate, the building of one wired broadcasting station with 150 loudspeakers would cost ¥ 7,000 (\$2,800) and the monthly maintenance cost would be ¥ 90 (\$36). But to buy 150 radio sets would cost ¥ 20,000 (\$8,000) and

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<sup>38</sup> Wuhsientien (Radio), No. 8, 1955, p. 18.

<sup>39</sup> Kuo-Chan Kwang-Pu Sou-Yin Chi Shou-T'se (Handbook of China-Made Radio Receivers), Shanghai, Shanghai Electronic Equipment Purchase and Supply Station, and Shanghai Publication Company of Science and Technology, 1959, p. 247.

Readers can compare the outward figure of this receiver with the picture on p.

the monthly maintenance cost would be from ¥ 1,500 to ¥ 2,000 (\$600 to \$800). Furthermore, every radio set requires one operator.<sup>40</sup>

Second, with loudspeakers in public places or even in peasants' homes, the Communists not only control peoples' listening but also insulate them from enemy broadcast. Moreover, wired speakers could be extremely useful in war. The Communists usually cite the story of the siege of Leningrad in World War II to illustrate the vital function of the wired network in war. Professor Inkeles writes:

Under the siege conditions the Leningrad wired net operated around the clock. During hours when no regular programs were on, and throughout the night, the Leningraders kept their speakers tuned in. The slow beat of a metronome kept the wire alive. Whenever it was necessary to make an important announcement, the beat of the metronome was rapidly increased. Thus, at all times, the officials were able to maintain direct contact with the people, to transmit orders, warn of danger, or make special announcements.<sup>41</sup>

#### Problems in Building Wired Broadcasting Stations

The Chinese Communists have their problems in developing wired broadcasting. One of them is electricity.

At the end of 1952, the geographical distribution of generating plants as a percentage of the national total was: Manchuria, 35.8 percent; East China, 30.8 percent; North China and Inner Mongolia, 18.3 percent; South-Central, 9.4 percent; Southwest, 4.5 percent; and Northwest, 1.2 percent.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Wuhsientien (Radio), No. 2, 1956, p. 5. (¥ stands for Communist Chinese dollar.)

<sup>41</sup> Inkeles, ibid., p. 244.

<sup>42</sup> Yuan-Li, Wu, "Power Crisis in Communist China," Current Scene, Vol. 1, No. 34, June 20, 1962, p. 4.

Except Manchuria, the large power plants were concentrated in such industrial and densely populated coastal cities as Shanghai, Tientsin, Tsingtao and Canton.

Peking's first Five-Year Plan called for 24 large hydro-plants and 76 thermal plants. But the government has not released any information on the outcome of the plan.

Since 1958 Peking has been urging local governments to build small hydro-plants. It conducts a nationwide campaign of building crude generating plants of every conceivable type. Western scholars have estimated that only a small number of the planned hydro-plants were actually established.<sup>43</sup> The Communist press openly admitted that power shortage is a serious problem in the nation's industry.

Obviously, it is much easier to build wired broadcasting stations in regions such as Manchuria and East China than in other areas where the Communists must use crude methods to generate power for broadcasting. For instance, a small radio station operates with a hand generator in a mountain region in Sinkiang province.<sup>44</sup> In other places, gas motor, wind motor, small hydro-motor and even tractors were utilized to generate power.<sup>45</sup> One has therefore reason to suspect that the Communist plan to build thousands of wired stations in a short time under such circumstances is perhaps a bit too ambitious.

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<sup>43</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>44</sup> Wuhsientien (Radio), No. 5, 1960, p. 17.

<sup>45</sup> Wuhsientien (Radio), No. 3, 1956, p. 3.

In counties and towns where there was telephone service, wired broadcasting stations utilized the telephone lines. In 1957, the Communists reported that 62 percent of the townships in the nation had telephones. In 1960, telephone service was reported to cover all the cities in China and 60 percent of the production teams.<sup>46</sup> The most recent report stated that telephone lines have linked up 95.8 percent of people's communes in rural areas.<sup>47</sup>

Of course, the regime could have easily expanded wired broadcasting if all these telephone lines had been utilized for broadcasting. This was clearly impossible. Even in 1960, Communist China's radio journals were filled with complaints against the tapping of broadcasting lines on the telephone lines. Telephone communication often interfered with broadcasting. In some counties certain hours were set aside for broadcasting only. In others, the local telephone operator flatly refused to let broadcasting wires be tapped on the telephone lines. As a result, many communes which had equipment for broadcasting

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The Commune is divided into production brigades which consist of production teams, the lowest level of organization.

<sup>47</sup>

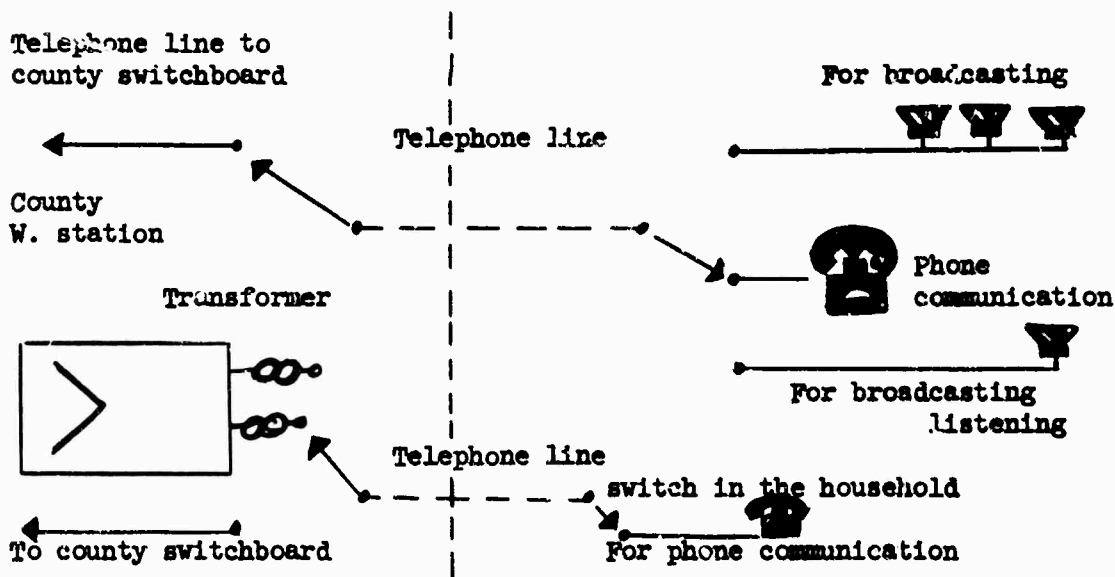
Peking Review, No. 20, May 17, 1963, p. 4.

and telephone lines still could not function because telephone lines were not used.<sup>48</sup>

#### Growth of Wired Broadcasting Stations

In spite of the technical problems and the power shortage, wired stations seemed to continue to grow on the Chinese mainland, if the official records are to be trusted. In 1952, the wired stations numbered 327.<sup>49</sup> In 1959, there were 9,435 commune and 1,689 county wired stations.<sup>50</sup> The number of loudspeakers jumped from 16,200 in 1952 to 4,570,000 in 1960.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>48</sup> Wuhsientien (Radio), No. 5, 1960, p. 21. This journal gives one type of circuit for tapping the wired broadcasting lines onto the telephone lines:



The switch in the peasant's house controls choice of phone conversation or broadcasting listening. (Circuit adopted from Radio, No. 3, 1956, p. 6.)

<sup>49</sup> From Ten Great Years, Peking, Foreign Language Press, 1960, p. 208.

<sup>50</sup> Communist China Digest, Joint Publications Research Service, No. 20, July 26, 1960, p. 56.

<sup>51</sup> Loc. cit.

The wired broadcasting network seemed to be most complete and powerful in Shanghai, Kwangtung, Heilunkiang, Kirin, Kiangsu, Anhwei and Hupeh. Among them, Shanghai, Kwangtung, and Heilunkiang have the desired number of wired stations in 84 percent of the farm cooperatives. In Kirin, Liaoning, Kwangtung and Fukien, every county has a broadcasting station and most of the townships had loudspeakers.<sup>52</sup>

The pattern of growth confirms the belief that the wired broadcasting was successful mainly in areas where power supply was relatively sufficient (Ref. p. 16). Also the provinces along China's two main railways, Ping-Han (Peking to Hankow) and Yueh-Han (Canton to Hankow), developed wired broadcasting networks rapidly.

According to Communist reports, wired stations continued to grow after 1959. The People's Daily reported that in 1960 every commune in Anhwei had a wired station. It is not known how many communes existed in Anhwei in 1960. However, there were 1,054 communes in this province in 1958. Since then the government had merged communes, the number by 1960 must have been reduced. Yet we do not know the extent to which the communes in Anhwei was reduced.

In 1962 Kirin was reported to have an average of one loudspeaker for every five households in the rural area and the total number of speakers was 500,000.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Ching-kwei, Chu, "The Development of Broadcasting for the National Minorities," Hsin-Wen Chan-Hsien (News Front), No. 11, 1959, p. 25.

<sup>53</sup> Chao Tse-jen, "Study on Communist Broadcasting System," Ta-Lu Fei-Chin Che-Pao, (Quarterly Report on Communist Mainland), Sixth Division of Kuomintang, Taipei, October, 1962, p. 5.

The total number of loudspeakers in the nation in 1962 is not known. The most recent information indicates that there are "more than 4.5 million loudspeakers scattered throughout the rural, pastoral and forest areas...."<sup>54</sup> It seems that Kirin has one-ninth of all the speakers in the nation. This may not be the case. But Kirin is the first province to experiment with wired stations and loudspeaker systems, and it has relatively sufficient power supply. It is therefore entirely possible that Kirin has more speakers than other provinces in the nation.

In 1962 Shangtung had reportedly loudspeakers in peasants' homes in half of the villages in the province and a wired broadcasting station in each county. It is difficult to specify the number of the wired stations because the Communists constantly change the number of counties in all the provinces. It is known, however, that in 1959 there were 93 counties in Shangtung. This means that some 90 wired broadcasting stations exist in the province. Shangtung was also reported to have trained nearly 1,000 journalists and technicians to staff the wired broadcasting stations.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>54</sup>Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 3137, August 12, 1963, p. 17.

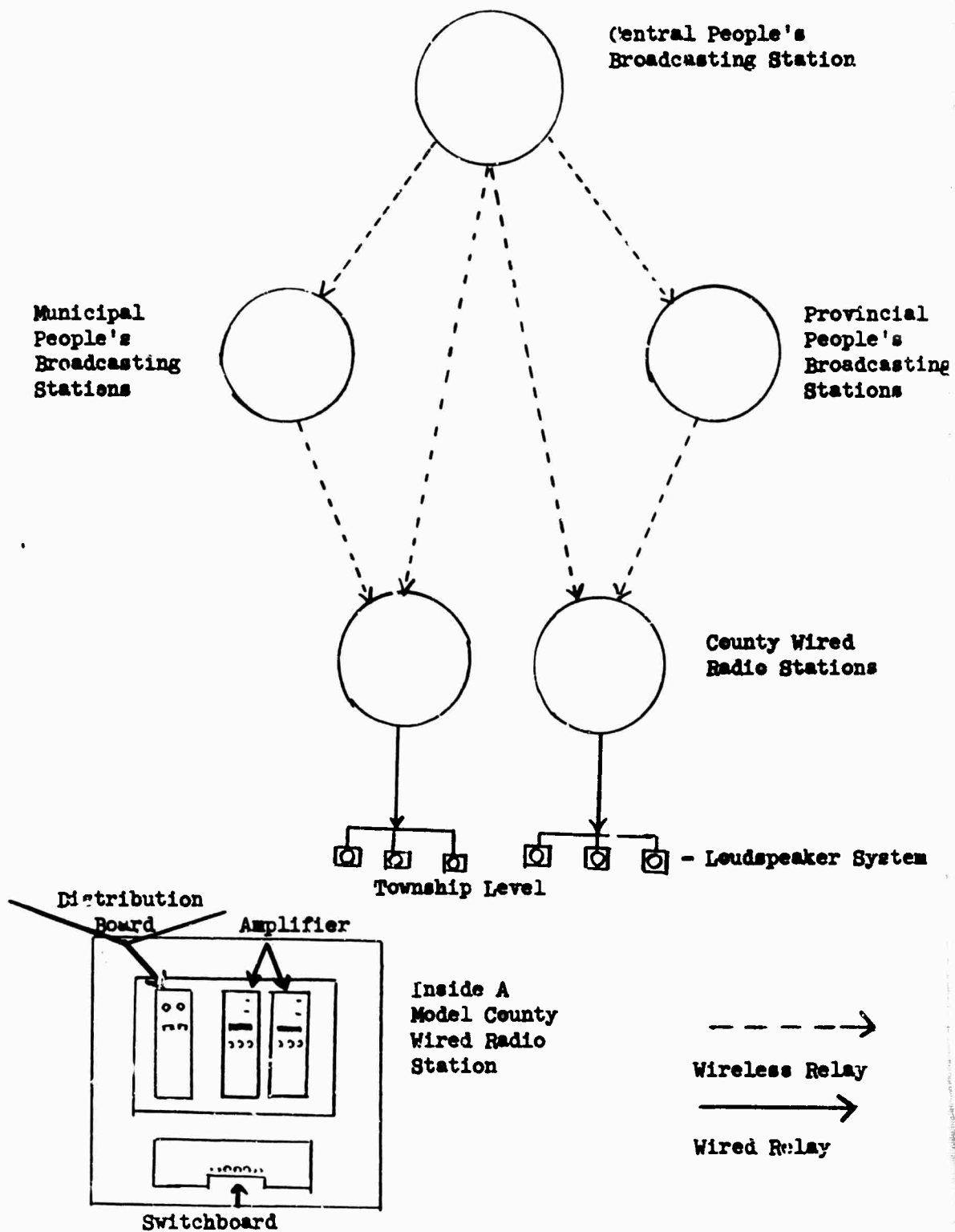
<sup>55</sup>"East China Peasants Welcome Rediffusion Centers," Survey of China Mainland Press, April 30, 1962, p. 23.

TABLE 2: Growth of Wired Broadcasting Stations in Communist China<sup>56</sup>

| Year | Number of Wired Broadcasting Stations | Loudspeakers |
|------|---------------------------------------|--------------|
| 1949 | 8                                     | 500          |
| 1950 | 51                                    | 2,200        |
| 1951 | 183                                   | 6,100        |
| 1952 | 327                                   | 16,200       |
| 1953 | 541                                   | 31,800       |
| 1954 | 577                                   | 47,500       |
| 1955 | 835                                   | 90,500       |
| 1956 | 1,490                                 | 515,700      |
| 1957 | 1,700                                 | 993,200      |
| 1958 | 6,772                                 | 2,987,500    |
| 1959 | 11,124                                | 4,570,000    |
| 1960 | --                                    | --           |
| 1961 | --                                    | --           |
| 1962 | --                                    | --           |
| 1963 | --                                    | 4,500,000    |

<sup>56</sup> Figures from 1949 to 1958 are from Ten Great Years, op. cit., p. 208; figures of 1959 are from Communist China Digest, JPRS, No. 20, July 26, 1960, p. 56. Among the 11,124 stations, 1,689 were county stations, and 9,435 commune stations. The figure of 1963 is based on WCHA release on August 7, 1963 which reported that, in fact, the number of loudspeakers are "more than 4.5 million" in 1963.

Figure 2: A Schematic Representation of Wired Broadcasting in Communist China



#### IV. Broadcasting for the Minority Nationalities

Wired broadcasting and monitoring teams also were established in regions inhabited by the minority people. China has 50 minority races. The total population of the Chinese minority people, up to 1960, was 38,000,000.<sup>57</sup> The minority, dominant areas are in the nation's frontier regions, Inner Mongolia, Sinkiang and Tibet, although minority communities are scattered all through China.



The shaded areas indicate the minority race regions.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>57</sup> Jen-Min Sou-T'se (People's Handbook), 1960, p. 274.

<sup>58</sup> Adopted from Snow, Edgar, The Other Side of the River: Red China Today, New York, Random House, 1962, p. 770.

### Inner Mongolia

Before radio monitoring teams and wired broadcasting stations could be set up in Inner Mongolia, the Central People's Broadcasting Station in Peking had regular Mongolian language programs serving the Mongolian people.

In 1955, the People's Council of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region<sup>59</sup> stated that by the end of that year, 575 monitoring teams would be set up. Of these, 389 were to serve the agricultural, herding and fishery cooperatives.<sup>60</sup>

In May, 1958, the first wired broadcasting station was established in Inner Mongolia. It was set up among a group of 13 permanent Mongol tent-dwellers.<sup>61</sup> Loudspeakers were installed within the tents. This station rebroadcast daily the programs of the Mongolian People's Broadcasting Station at Paotou, capital of the Mongolian Autonomous Region. It also put on its own programs on weather, methods of animal husbandry and literary or cultural matters. It was planned that 500 more such stations would be built in Inner Mongolia.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>59</sup>The Communist Chinese government established "autonomous" (in a corrupt sense of the once-meaningful word) regions for the minority people. There are five autonomous regions in China. The People's Council of the Autonomous Region is the executive branch of the regional government.

<sup>60</sup>Kwangming Jih Pao (Kwangming Daily), September 6, 1955.

<sup>61</sup>The Mongols live in the so-called "Mongol tents" which are made of animal skins. The tents can be easily folded and carried on horseback. The permanent ones cannot be folded.

<sup>62</sup>People's Daily, May 25, 1958.

By 1959 it was reported that most of the banners<sup>63</sup> and 58 percent of the communes in Inner Mongolia had established wired stations.<sup>64</sup>

At present there are about ten wireless stations in Mongolia, which are the nuclei of the wired station.

#### Other Minority Communities

In Sinkiang, the regional People's Broadcasting Station in Tihwa serves some 360 monitoring teams.<sup>65</sup> In March, 1955, the Central government in Peking distributed 350 five-valve super-infravne radio receivers to Sinkiang province (ref. p. 12).

In Tsinghai, 11 wired broadcasting stations and 324 monitoring stations were established among villages and ranches. All the stations rebroadcast programs from the Central People's Broadcasting Station, in addition to their own local programs.<sup>66</sup>

In Kwangsi, 35,000 Chuang people once gathered to listen to the first Chuang-language programs from the Central People's Broadcasting Station.<sup>67</sup> In 1957 a wired station for the Yao race in the same province was set up.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Banners are the lowest administrative units in Mongolia.

<sup>64</sup> "Broadcasting for the Minority People," Hsin-Wen Chan-Hsien (News Front), No. 11, 1959, p. 25.

<sup>65</sup> From unpublished manuscript: George Wong, "Northwest Handbook," Far Eastern and Russian Institute, University of Washington, Seattle, undated, p. 29.

<sup>66</sup> People's Daily, January 12, 1957.

<sup>67</sup> "Broadcasting for the Minority People," News Front, op. cit., p. 25.

<sup>68</sup> Nan-Fang Jih-Pao (Southern Daily), April 10, 1957.

GRAPHIC NOT REPRODUCIBLE



A Mongolian radio announcer at Panyenhaote Wired Broadcasting Station (adopted from Radio, No. 9, 1955).

In Yunnan, where 13 different minority races reside, there were 44 wired stations and 5,634 speakers by 1957. In addition, some 1,205 monitoring teams served the Tais people. In 1958 another 24 wired stations and 561 monitoring teams were set up to serve the Tais and Lisus race.<sup>69</sup>

By the end of 1958, there were 778 wired broadcasting stations in rural areas for the minority people in Inner Mongolia, Sinkiang, Kwangsi, Ninghsia, and the small minority communities in Szechuan, Kansu, Kweichow, Yunnan and Hunan.<sup>70</sup>

#### V. The Growth of Radio Stations

The rapid growth of the local radio networks is in proportion to the development of the central broadcasting system. There were 54 public stations in 1951. In 1961 there were 138. In addition to its domestic networks, the regime has an international propaganda system and a special unit for broadcasting to Taiwan.<sup>71</sup>

The nerve center is the "Broadcasting Mansion" in Peking. It is the headquarters of the Central People's Broadcasting Stations, commonly known in the West as Radio Peking. It has 25 medium-wave lengths and 78 short-wave lengths for domestic broadcasting and three medium-wave and 94 short-wave lengths for international broadcasting. It has 24 broadcasting studios, and a Russian-made 300-kilowatt transmitter,

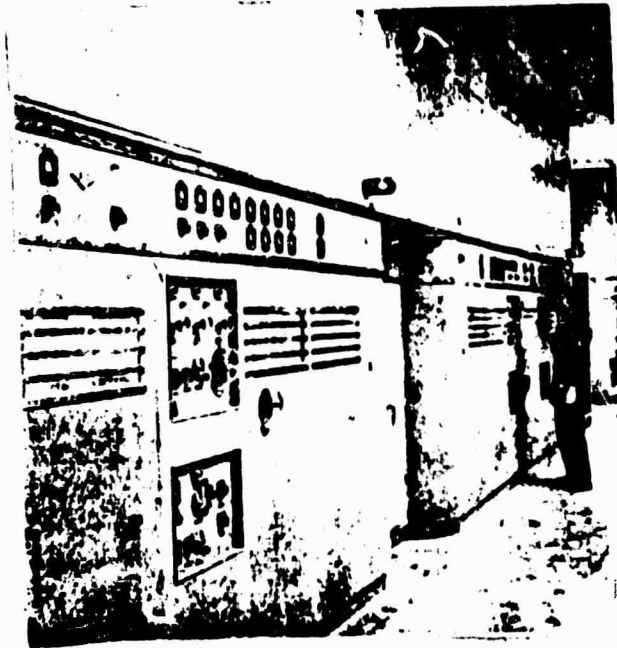
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<sup>69</sup> People's Daily, February 25, 1958.

<sup>70</sup> "Broadcasting for the Minority People," News Front, op. cit., p. 25.

<sup>71</sup> Chao Tse-jeng, op. cit., p. 1.

GRAPHIC NOT REPRODUCIBLE



Control room of Radio Peking. Communists claimed that all the equipment was made in China. (Adopted from China Reconstructs, August, 1955, p. 3)

claimed by the Communists as the biggest medium-wave transmitter in Asia.<sup>72</sup>

The provincial and municipal broadcasting stations serve partly as relaying stations for Radio Peking to the thousands of wired broadcasting stations in counties and communes.

Some provincial stations also sponsor foreign language broadcasts and use the identification of Radio Peking. They are: Kwangtung People's Broadcasting Station in Canton with a 250-kilowatt transmitter; the Nanchang People's Broadcasting Station with a Czech-made 150-kilowatt transmitter in Nanchang, Kiangsi and the Chengchow People's Broadcasting Station with a Hungarian-made transmitter.<sup>73</sup>

Most of the county stations are wired. Yet, in a county in Kiangsu province, an area of 730 square miles with many small and medium-sized lakes, the local government found it difficult to erect poles for wired broadcasting. Hence, in 1958 a wireless station was built, the first wireless county radio station in China. It has a 100-watt transmitter and serves 800,000 people in the region. The total cost of this station was reported to be only ¥ 1,000 (U.S. \$400).<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>72</sup>Ibid., p. 2.

<sup>73</sup>Chau Tse-jeng, loc. cit.

<sup>74</sup>Kwangming Daily, October 9, 1958.

## VI. Growth of Broadcasting Power and Development in Technology

The development of the electronic industry in Communist China, although a rather remarkable phenomenon, has escaped the serious attention of students of Communist China. This section discusses the manufacturing of radio sets, tubes and other related electronic instruments. It also takes up the matter of amateur radio clubs in mainland China.

In the period of the first Five-Year Plan, the Communists received technical aid from the Soviet Union and East Germany. At the end of the Plan, the nation was able to produce transmitters, electronic tubes and other broadcasting equipment.

In 1957, the Peking Broadcasting Equipment Factory succeeded in making a 120-kilowatt transmitter, which had 300,000 parts and could be used for international broadcasting as well as tele-communication.<sup>75</sup> In 1960, a radio factory in Kiangsu province manufactured a small 300-watt transmitter for the use of communes.<sup>76</sup>

By 1957, there was already an electronic tube factory in Peking which had 351 "production units" and thousands of workers. In the same year a new radio equipment factory was completed in Peking with the aid of East German technicians.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>75</sup>People's Daily, February 27, 1957.

<sup>76</sup>Wuhsientien (Radio), No. 5, 1960, p. 20.

<sup>77</sup>Chao Tse-jeng, op. cit., pp. 11-12.

TABLE 3: Growth of "People's Broadcasting Stations" in China<sup>78</sup>

| Year | Number of Stations |
|------|--------------------|
| 1951 | 54                 |
| 1952 | 71                 |
| 1953 | 73                 |
| 1958 | 97                 |
| 1959 | 122                |
| 1961 | 138                |
| 1962 | 141                |
| 1963 | 141                |

TABLE 4: Growth of Broadcasting Power in China<sup>79</sup>

| Year | Broadcasting Power |
|------|--------------------|
| 1949 | 107.9 kilowatt     |
| 1952 | 473.5              |
| 1956 | 547.5              |
| 1957 | 2,851.5            |

<sup>78</sup>Chao Tse-jeng, op. cit., pp. 1-2.

<sup>79</sup>Wu, Kwan-chou, Kuan-Shih Sou-Yin Chi (Crystal Radio Receivers), Peking, China Youth Publication Company, 1960, p. 5.

Shanghai is another radio and electronic industry center in Communist China. About a hundred kinds of electronic tubes were manufactured here. Radio factories produced loudspeakers, conetype loudspeakers and microphones. Electronic instruments were produced for the nation's industry such as high-frequency ovens, modulating telephones, telephones for use in mines, oscillographs, impedance bridges and electronic thermostats.<sup>80</sup>

In 1956 there were only 36 items of the electronic devices produced in Shanghai.<sup>81</sup> The number jumped to 219 in 1957 and again to 839 in 1958. These items include: supersonic liquid steel testing devices, supersonic fish detector, high altitude weather measuring device, standard signal generator, microwave measurement device, tape recorder, semi-conductor tubes, vacuum tubes, facsimile telegraph and automatic exchange.<sup>82</sup>

Factories producing electronic equipment were also established in Chengtu and Chungking in Szechuan, Tientsin in Hopeh province, and Nanking in Kiangsu province. Factories producing radios for the general public were established in Shanghai, Nanking, Hankow, Tientsin, Peking, Canton and Chengtu. By the end of 1959 there were some 200 radio factories in the nation. In Tientsin alone, there were 20 broadcasting equipment factories.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> Wuhsientien Yu Tientsih (Radio and Television) No. 10, 1959, pp. 4-5.

<sup>81</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>82</sup> Loc. cit.

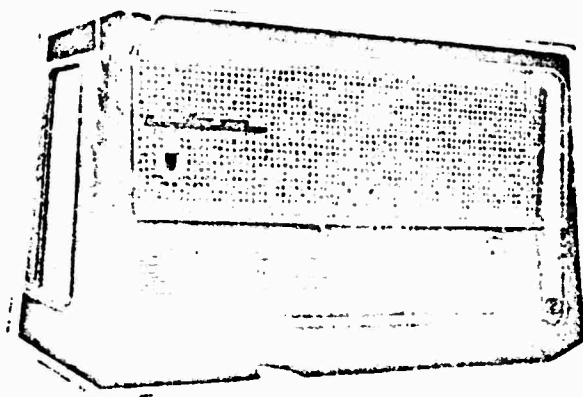
<sup>83</sup> Chao Tse-jeng, loc. cit.

TABLE 5: Growth Output of Radio Sets in China<sup>84</sup>

| Year | Number of Sets |
|------|----------------|
| 1954 | 28,641         |
| 1957 | 370,000        |
| 1958 | 1,200,000      |
| 1959 | 1,500,000      |
| 1960 | 1,500,000      |
| 1961 | 1,500,000      |
| 1962 | 1,500,000      |

<sup>84</sup> Figure of 1954 is from Research Report, 1960, Hong Kong, United States Information Service, 1961, p. 47; figures from 1957 to 1960 are from Chao Tse-jeng, op. cit., pp. 7-8. The figures of 1961 and 1962 are estimates.

Two major radio factories producing sets for the general public are Nanking Radio Factory and Shanghai Radio Factory. In July, 1957, the Nanking factory was reportedly producing 350 sets a day; later it turned out to be 400 radio sets a day. This factory manufactures the popular brand called "Panda" from a five-valve, two or three-wave length radio set (shown below.)



"Panda" Super-infradyne, A.C., five-valve, three-wave length: medium, 520-1600 K.C.; short-wave, 3.8-9.0 and 9-18 M.C. Estimate price: ¥ 200 (US \$80). (Adapted from Radio, no. 1, 1960.)

**GRAPHIC NOT REPRODUCIBLE**

The radio sets produced in Shanghai were of the following types:<sup>85</sup>

1. Three-valve, regenerative A.C. medium-wave, 550-1600 K.C.,  
radio;
2. Four-valve, super-infradyne A.C., medium-wave, 550-1600 K.C.,  
and portable battery-operated type with same wave length;
3. Five-valve, super-infradyne A.C., two or three-wave length  
radios.

Two-wave length: Medium; 550-1600 K.C.  
Short; ranges from 6-18, 5.5-18.5,  
5.8-18, 3.9-12.1 to 3.9-12.5 M.C.

Three-wave length: Medium; 550-1600 K.C.  
Short; I - from 5.5-18.5, 5.8-18, 3.6-8  
to 9-12.1 M.C.  
II - from 3.85-12.5, 3.5-19 to  
8-18 M.C.

Price: ¥ 127 (U.S. \$50.40)

4. Six-valve, super-infradyne A.C., two-wave, medium (550-1600 K.C.)  
and short-wave (5.8-18 M.C.).

5. Seven-valve, super-infradyne A.C., all-wave radio:

Medium-wave: 520-1600 K.C.  
Short-wave: I - 3.95-7.6 M.C.  
II - 9-12.1 M.C.  
III - 14.5-19 M.C.

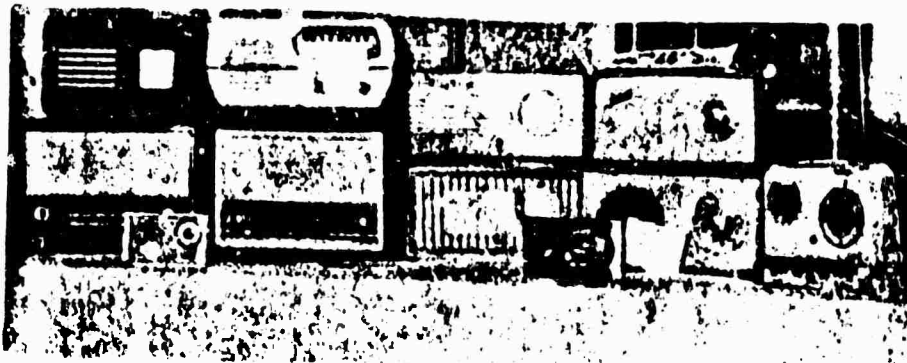
6. Fourteen-valve, super-infradyne A.C., all-wave radio:

Medium-wave: 520-1600 K.C.  
Short-wave: I - 3.95-7.6 M.C.  
II - 9-12.1 M.C.  
III - 14.5-19 M.C.

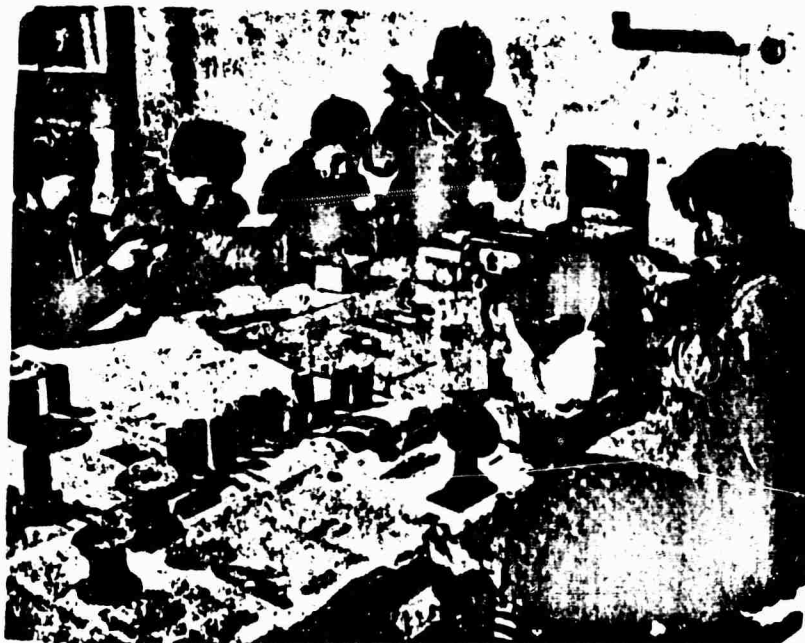
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<sup>85</sup>All the types are from Kuo-Chan Kwang-Pu Sou-Yin Shou Tse (Handbook of China Made Radio Receivers), Shanghai, Shanghai Electronic Equipment Purchase and Supply Station and Shanghai Publication Company of Science and Technology, 1959.

GRAPHIC NOT REPRODUCIBLE



Different kinds of radios made in China. (From Radio, No. 1, 1960.)



Youngsters are shown assembling radio parts at "Radio Amateur Club for Youngsters" in Peking. (Adopted from Radio, No. 7, 1956.)

GRAPHIC NOT REPRODUCIBLE

At present every province except Tibet has its own factory producing radio sets and loudspeakers. In 1958 the radio factories in Heilunkiang were capable of producing 300,000 loudspeakers. In 1959 Kwangtung province produced 1,200,000 microphones and 2,450 "wave-carriers" for wired broadcasting.<sup>86</sup>

There are several government-sponsored amateur radio organizations in China to conduct researches on radio science. In 1958 there were 20 radio amateurs' clubs in the nation. In 1959 the number increased to 50. In December, 1958, an exhibition of products made by the radio amateur clubs all over China was opened in Peking. On display were crystal sets, radio sets, radio controlled airplane models, television sets, transistor radios, transmitters, supersonic-oscillators and other electronic devices.<sup>87</sup>

The Communists also organized youngsters into amateur radio clubs. All over China school children were seen assembling simple crystal or one-tube radio sets. In Peking, a "Radio Amateur Club for Youngsters" was organized by the Young Pioneer Corps which is an organization for school-age children. This amateur club consisted of 32 youngsters who met every Thursday and Friday afternoon. At each meeting a lecture on radio was given by the director of the club and the youngsters were usually organized into two groups to practice assembling radio parts.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>86</sup>Chao Tse-jeng, op. cit., p. 12.

<sup>87</sup>Wuhsientien (Radio), No. 1, 1960, p. 2.

<sup>88</sup>Wuhsientien (Radio), No. 7, 1956, p. 2.

Since 1957, the Communists have exported radio sets, transmitters and electronic tubes. Chinese radio sets were first exported to South and North Africa and South America. After 1958, thousands of electronic tubes were exported to Egypt and Singapore. In the same period five types of Chinese-made electronic tubes were exported to Western Europe. In July, 1958, for instance, a West German merchant bought from Communist China 670,000 electronic tubes valued at \$200,000. In 1960 the "United Exchanges of Instruments" in Canton sold 1,400 portable radio sets to Hong Kong.<sup>89</sup>

Number of Radio Sets in Communist China

It is virtually impossible to determine the exact number of radio sets in Communist China. But some reasonable estimates can be made on the basis of the available bits and pieces of information on the subject from a variety of sources.

In 1958, according to one report, there were 3,000,000 radio sets owned by Chinese citizens.<sup>90</sup> In 1959, according to another source, there were 3,500,000 radio sets in mainland China, but the report did not specify whether they were private or public sets.<sup>91</sup> Still another source reported that in 1959 China had 7,000,000 radio sets excluding the crystal sets.<sup>92</sup> The figure seems to include both the private and public sets. A reasonably good guess is that the 3,500,000 sets given earlier

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<sup>89</sup>Chao Tse-jeng, op. cit., p. 15.

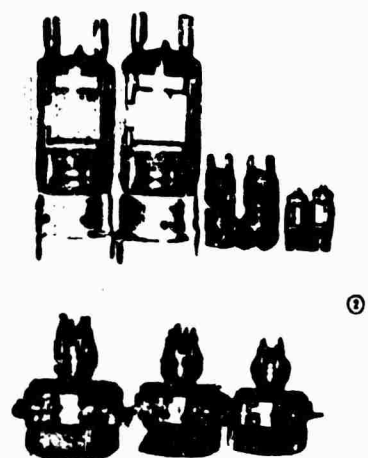
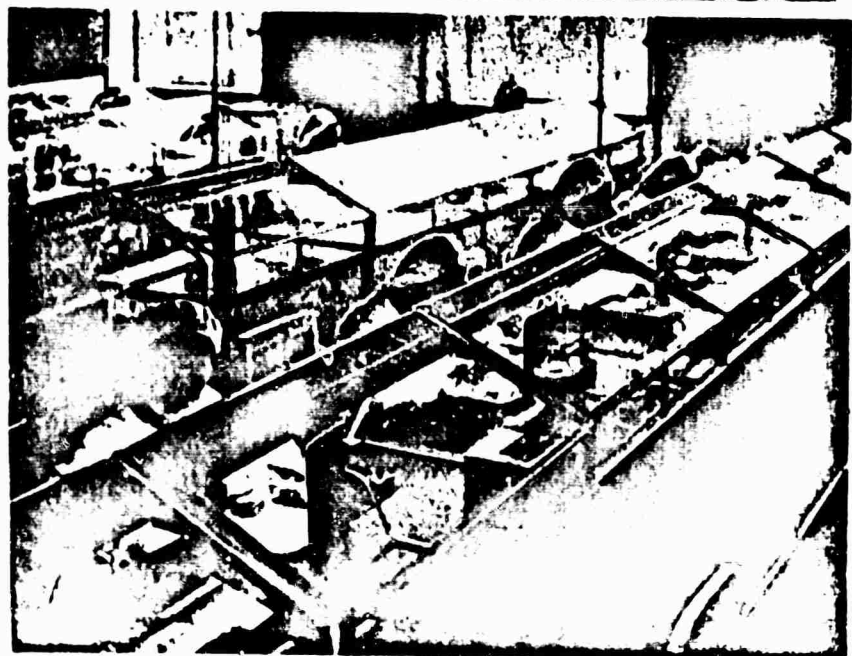
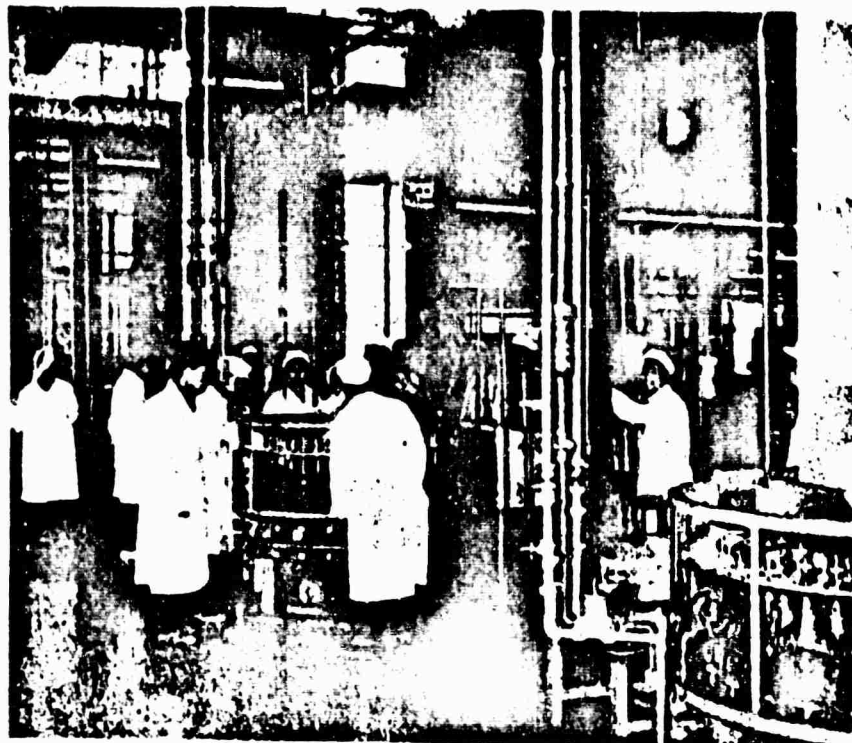
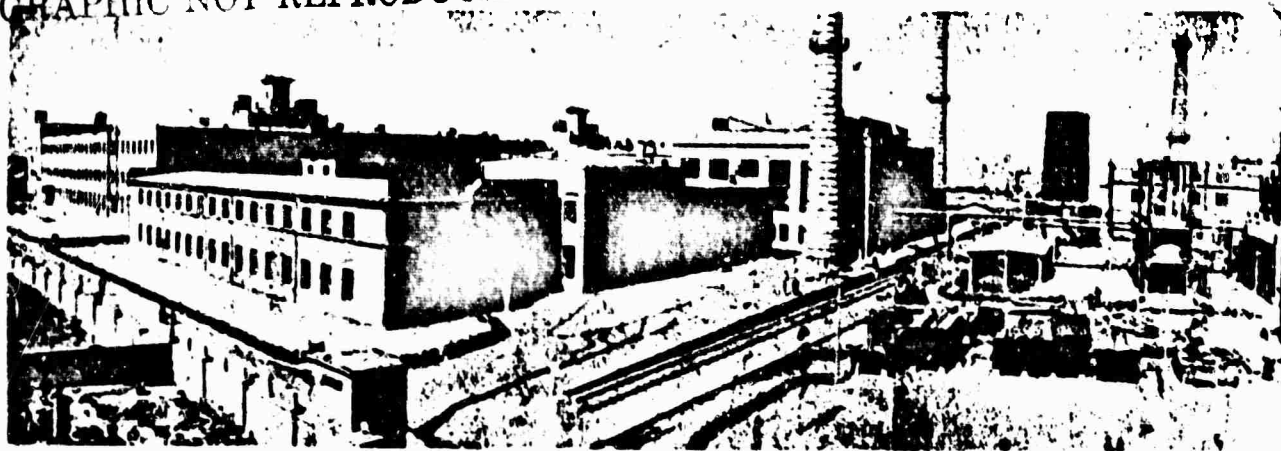
<sup>90</sup>Chuan Yeah, Sou-Tin Kwang-Pu Chan-Shih (Common Knowledge on Radio Listening), Peking, Publication Company for Popularization of Science, 1958, p. 4.

<sup>91</sup>Communist China Digest, JPRS, July 26, 1960, p. 56.

<sup>92</sup>Chou Hsin-wu, "China Broadcasts to the World," Communist China Digest, JPRS, September 26, 1960, pp. 96-97.

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-30a-



Peking Electronic Tube  
Factory. (Adopted from  
Radio, No. 11, 1956.)

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might well be privately owned. If so, China had an increase of 500,000 private radio sets from 1958 to 1959.

Assuming that this were the annual rate of increase from 1959 to 1962, China should now have as many as 5,000,000 privately-owned radio sets. And since the 1959 figure suggests a one-to-one ratio between private and public sets, one could expect China to have as many as 10,000,000 radio sets in 1962.

The main assumption here is that the radio set wear-out rate is low. As a matter of fact, a defecting Communist pilot said in Taiwan that the five-valve radios made in China were of very high quality. Yet how many of these 10,000,000 sets are of the five-valve type, we do not know.

#### VII. Control of Radio Equipment and Personnel

The Chinese Communists probably look at their achievements in radio with mixed feelings. Understandably, they are justifiably proud of their performance in radio manufacturing and their advances in electronics. Conceivably, however, the very success of the Communists may produce some adverse effects.

For instance, the five-valve radios are now available to the general public and some segments of the population can afford to buy them. While the Communists should expect these sets to increase the listenership for their own programs, they cannot prevent people from using the same sets to pick up foreign broadcasts such as Voice of America or BBC. Similarly, popularization of radio assembling can be at

once functional and dysfunctional, so far as the interests of the Party are concerned. It has been reported that privately assembled radios, even the crystal sets, can be used to monitor broadcasts from Japan and Taiwan.

#### Control of Radio Equipment

Thus, the government must put radio equipment under strict control.

Since 1949, the Ministry of Public Security has issued two sets of regulations on radio equipment control. The first one, issued in August, 1951, was called "Provisional Regulations for the Control of Radio Appliances and Supplies." The second one was issued in July, 1955 (See Appendix I). Both listed types of radio sets, transmitters and tubes to be under control and detailed regulations on the manufacture, shipment, sale, purchase, possession, and transfer of the controlled equipment and sets.

For instance, Article 2, Section (1) of the second set of regulations of 1955 stipulates:

The categories of radio equipment under control are.

(1) Complete sets of radio transmitters, radio-communication receivers, voice transmitter-receivers, and voice/CW receivers. (The last item refers to super-heterodyne receivers equipped with beat-frequency oscillator, and regenerative type receivers capable of receiving all bands of frequencies besides the band of broadcasting frequencies between 535 K.C. to 1605 K.C. Receivers equipped with tuned radio frequency amplifying stage are classified as radio-communication receivers.)...<sup>93</sup>

The possession of the above mentioned equipment is strictly limited to the State tele-communication and broadcasting organizations.

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<sup>93</sup> "Ministry of Public Security Promulgates Measures for Control of Radio Equipment," Kwangming Daily, July 24, 1955.

Even these organizations have to apply for permission from the local government.

In case anyone wants to manufacture, repair or trade such equipment, he has to apply for permission from the local public security authorities. Then he has to go to the local government and "commercial administrative authorities"<sup>94</sup> for trade registration.

If an individual wants to buy any of the controlled equipment, he has to have a certifying letter from the local Public Security Station. The letter is then to be approved by the municipal or county office of the Public Security Bureau. Then a purchase certificate is issued and the procedure is completed. The repair of such equipment goes through the same set of procedures.

Retailers of such equipment are required to keep a business entry book. Daily production and sales of controlled radio equipment shall be entered in detail. The entry book, together with the purchase and the repair certificates, shall be submitted to the local Public Security Bureau to be checked monthly. Delay of submission or false entry are penalized. The retailers are required to report suspected customers to the local public security authorities.

All-wave radio sets with frequencies between 535 to 1605 K.C. were placed under state control. But all-wave radios with other range of frequencies are on sale publicly. American journalist Edgar Snow wrote of his trip to Communist China in 1960:

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<sup>94</sup>The "commercial administrative authorities" presumably are agencies in charge of selling products of State-owned factories. It is inconceivable that there is still a substantive private industry on the mainland that would require a special agency to handle it.

All-wave radios are sold everywhere in China and most hotel rooms are equipped with them. I heard broadcasts from American stations in Japan and the United States all over the country. To what extent Chinese citizens listen I cannot say, but when my interpreter, Yao Wei, traveled with me, his rooms also had all-wave radios.<sup>95</sup>

Unfortunately, Mr. Snow did not specify the places where he saw all-wave radios that were on sale. He reported, however, that during his stay in China lived in plush hotels. It is understandable that these hotels should have the all-wave radios.

It is possible that radios produced by the factories are channeled through a special agency and then distributed to various government organizations. An employee of "Shanghai Electronic Equipment Purchase and Supply Station" reported that in 1954 the station bought 9,000 radio sets and that by 1957 it was buying 140,000 sets.<sup>96</sup>

This so-called "Purchase and Supply Station" presumably acts as a distribution agency for radios and other electronic equipment. A similar kind of centralized distribution system exists in other departments, such as the "Nanking Building Materials Company" which distributes fuel, cement, bricks and lumbers to lesser State companies and factories throughout the province of Kiangsu.

Does this mean that all transactions in radios in Communist China must be channeled through the State? Not necessarily. Radios of four or three tubes can be bought without any formal procedure. Recently, the government encouraged people to make their own crystal sets and ruled that registration is not required for such sets.<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>95</sup>Snow, Edgar, The Other Side of the River: Red China Today, New York, Random House, 1960, p. 107.

<sup>96</sup>Chen Shih-chao, "Look at Great Leap Forward through Transactions of Radios," Wuhsientien Yu Tien-shih (Radio & Television), No. 10, 1959, p. 7.

<sup>97</sup>Wu, Kwan-chou, op. cit., p. 5.

The Party tries, of course, to put radios and electronic equipment in the hands of politically reliable persons. As noted earlier, the monitors were recruited among government officials and "activists." However, the Party's long-range program is to train technicians and workers whom it can trust.

#### Training of Radio Personnel

Today there are 11 institutions in China training radio personnel. They are: the Peking Telecommunication School, the Peking Radio Engineering School, the Peking Research Institute of Radio Science, the Chengtu Radio and Telecommunication School, the Radio Department of Tsinghua University, the Electronic Research Institute of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, the Scientific Research Institute of the Broadcasting Administrative Bureau, the Shanghai Radio Technique Research Institute, the Nanking Radio Engineering School, the Peking Broadcasting Academy and a spare-time radio engineering institute set up by radio factories in Peking.<sup>98</sup>

In 1958, the Research Institute of Radio Science was established in Peking. Its professed goals were to study new broadcasting techniques. In September, 1959, the Peking Broadcasting Academy was established "to train cadres in editing and reporting and cadres with engineering background in broadcasting and television."<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> Research Report, 1960, Hong Kong, USIS, p. 54.

<sup>99</sup> Cao Hsin-wou, op. cit., pp. 96-97.

The aims of the Academy were to train "new warriors" to be radio and television editors, reporters and technicians "who will broadcast programs that inculcate a high class consciousness, that explain policies and that provide professional information."<sup>100</sup>

In its first semester, the Academy had 524 students. Later, the number of students rose to 760 due to the transfer of a whole body of students from Peking Technical School, which was closed. "The students' political quality is comparatively high; 76 percent of them are members of the Communist Party or the Young Communist League, and 70 percent of these members are of worker and peasant background."<sup>101</sup>

The Academy, upon opening, had a department of broadcast and television news, a radio department, a foreign language department and a special radio class. Its policy of education contained the following:

Through its five-year curriculum, the Academy shall try its utmost to make the students reach or come near to these objectives:

1. To be equipped with a general theoretical basis of Marxism-Leninism, concerned with events at home and abroad, and capable of correctly understanding and resolutely carrying out the policies of the Party;
2. To have acquired a stable proletarian and world outlook, developed the Communist way of thinking courageously, of speaking out courageously, of doing courageously and of pursuing what is right, practical and highly moral; and to have cultivated loyalty to the socialist and Communist enterprise;
3. To have cultivated the habit and behavior of learning through hardship, passionate love for labor, solidarity and friendship, hard work and simplicity;

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<sup>100</sup>  
Loc. cit.

<sup>101</sup>  
Loc. cit.

4. To have a general productive and social knowledge and a given standard of writing;

5. To thoroughly understand and be capable of managing broadcast propaganda, or the basic business, knowledge and skill of broadcast technique, coupled with the mastery of one foreign language;

6. To be of robust health.<sup>102</sup>

This is the new Communist journalist. That only one of the six objectives above deals with professional knowledge and technique of journalism is not surprising to anyone who knows the Marxist-Leninist concept of journalism.

It may be interesting to note in passing that in China, Nationalist or Communist, many announcers are women. It almost seems that women dominate the field of radio announcing. This may be partly explained by the fact that Mandarin is the main language used in broadcasting; it is more distinct, more graceful and perhaps more pleasant when it is spoken by a female than by a male.

We now turn to content of Communist broadcasting.

#### VIII. Content and Hours of Broadcasting

In Communist China, just as in any Communist nation, the Party determines the policy and content of mass media. Chou Yang, Deputy Minister of the Department of Propaganda of the Chinese Communist Party, has this to say of the mission of broadcasting in the era of the Great Leap Forward:

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<sup>102</sup> Chou Hsin-wou, loc. cit.

...Broadcasting is to relay quickly the Party's political task to the audiences. Knowledges should be selectively disseminated among the masses. At present, broadcasting should promote the propaganda of the Great Leap Forward. Radio broadcasting must carry out propaganda for industry and agriculture.... Broadcasting is allowed to criticise but its job mainly is to encourage.... Broadcasting should put more emphasis on implementation of goals rather than on goals themselves, more on previous experiences, on model workers and on masses' creativeness.... On the popularization of science and technology, emphasis should be on technological innovation, tool improvement, inventions and others. The broadcasting stations should also broadcast dialectical method, logic and current affairs.... We should adopt a three-dimension broadcasting on programs dealing with literature and art. First, we should broadcast good traditional drama and local drama. Second, we should broadcast modern drama, good songs and good literary works. Third, we should relate these programs to the existing task of the nation. Though it may be difficult to have high quality in the third part of the program, it is necessary. At present, our broadcasting should reflect the movement of the Great Leap Forward.<sup>103</sup>

Very clearly, radio broadcasting is supposed to adjust itself constantly to the shifting Party line. That accounts for many changes and adjustments in the programs and schedules of the Central People's Broadcasting Station.

Since 1963, the Central People's Broadcasting Station has again adopted a revised schedule of programs. The programs are divided into three sets. The first set is intended for the general public and hence is pervaded with political propaganda. The second set is more "educational" and has more musical programs. The third set does not differ much from the second. It contains entertainment programs and starts broadcasting on weekdays after 5 p.m. to fit the people's free time.<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>103</sup>Chou, Yang, "Two Roads and Two Ways to Do Work," Hsin-Hua Pan-Yu Kan (New China Fortnightly), No. 11, 1958, pp. 118-119.

<sup>104</sup>All the programs are from the Chungyang Jen-Min Kwangpu Tien-Tai Kwangpu Chi-Mou Pao (Central People's Broadcasting Station Programs Bulletin), August 23, 1963.

Following is a sample of the station's schedule on September 2,  
1963:

First set of programs: 540, 560, 570, 630, 640, 1330  
690, 760, 890, 1020 K.C.

|            |     |  |
|------------|-----|--|
| 5:30 a.m.  | • • | Opening music and preview of today's programs  |
| 5:30       |     | News   |
| 5:45       |     | Music (Chinese music)  |
| 6:15       |     | "Everywhere in the Motherland"<br>(Reports, features and interviews on constructions and productions around the nation.) |
| 6:30       |     | News and summaries from the Capital press  |
| 7:00       |     | Stories of the revolution<br>(Stories of the civil war)  |
| 7:30       |     | International events, features   |
| 7:45       |     | Songs of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam  |
| 8:00       |     | News in brief  |
| 8:05       |     | Drama  |
| 9:00       |     | Peking opera   |
| 10:00      |     | News   |
| 10:15      |     | Musical concert  |
| 11:00      |     | Local music (folk music)   |
| 11:30      |     | Hunan folk music   |
| 12:15 p.m. |     | Agricultural technology: "Is the Combined Use of Pesticide Good or Bad?"   |
| 12:30      |     | News   |
| 12:45      |     | Zwangtung music  |
| 1:00       |     | Shansi folk music  |
| 1:45       |     | "Stories of the Revolution"  |
| 2:15       |     | Common knowledge of science: Why do Good Seeds Decay?  |
| 2:30       |     | In Socialist countries (Mandarin program of Radio Moscow)  |
| 3:00       |     | Yunnan national minority music   |
| 3:30       |     | Hanchow music  |
| 4:00       |     | News in brief  |
| 4:05       |     | Folk music   |
| 4:20       |     | Broadcast to school-age children   |
| 4:40       |     | Broadcast to youngsters and children   |
| 5:10       |     | Solo   |
| 5:25       |     | Shanghai opera   |
| 5:55       |     | Preview of the evening programs  |

|           |   |
|-----------|---|
| 6:00 p.m. | News  |
| 6:15      | Foreign music   |
| 6:30      | "Life in the People's Liberation Army"  |
| 7:10      | Reading and enjoying: Introducing<br>Korean Poet Chao Chi-tien's "Anger!"   |
| 7:25      | Opera: "Bloody Vengeance"   |
| 8:10      | International news  |
| 8:25      | Weekly song   |
| 8:30      | Simultaneous broadcasting<br>(All the stations in China at this<br>hour broadcast the same programs of<br>news and comments in their first set<br>of programs.) |
| 9:00      | Mail box of literature  |
| 9:45      | Special topic lecture: Retrospect and<br>Compare*   |
| 10:00     | News  |
| 10:15     | Novel reading   |
| 11:00     | International news  |
| 11:15     | Peking opera  |
| 1:00 a.m. | News  |
| 1:20      | Conclusion  |

Some of the above programs alter each day. The program at 5:45 a.m. is alternatively music and special lectures from Monday to Sunday; the 6:15 a.m. program is alternatively "Everywhere in the Motherland" and "Life in the People's Liberation Army" from Monday to Saturday; the 7:00 a.m. program is alternately "Stories of Revolution" and music from Monday to Sunday; the 12:15 p.m. broadcast is on agriculture technology on Monday and Wednesday, sports on Tuesday, Thursday, Saturday and music on Friday and Sunday; on every Tuesday there is an intermission from 1:45 p.m. to 2 p.m. "Life in the People's Liberation

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\* Since 1959, due to the food shortage and other economic factors, the morale of the people on the mainland has been low. Thus, the Party devised a slogan: "Retrospect and Compare" which means that the people should recall their "hardships under Kuomintang" and compare it with the "happiness of the present day."

Army" is also broadcast at 6:30 p.m. every Wednesday, Thursday, Friday and Sunday and the 9:45 p.m. program is alternately "Special lecture" and "Everywhere in the Motherland" from Monday to Saturday.

Scheduled regularly are all the news programs, the 4:20 p.m. "Broadcast to school-age children" and 4:40 p.m. "Broadcast to youngsters and children." On every Sunday the 7:30 a.m. program is music instead of international events. On Sundays at 10:15 a.m. there is a program of songs requested by listeners. Other Sunday features are 12:15 p.m., music, and 9:30 p.m., literature.

The second set of the programs of the Central People's Broadcasting Station on September 2, 1963 was: 600, 610, 710, 720 K.C.

|            |   |
|------------|---|
| 5:50 a.m.  | Opening music and preview of today's program  |
| 6:00       | News  |
| 6:15       | Songs   |
| 6:30       | Songs of the People's Republic of Korea       |
| 6:45       | Song of the week                              |
| 6:50       | Calisthenics                                  |
| 7:00       | News summaries of the Capital press           |
| 7:30       | Music   |
| 8:00       | News dictation (for monitoring teams)         |
| 10:30      | Intermission                                  |
| 11:55      | Opening music and preview of programs         |
| 12:00 p.m. | Foreign music                                 |
| 12:15      | Peking opera                                  |
| 12:30      | Installment broadcasting of long novels       |
| 1:00       | International news                            |
| 1:15       | Songs by request                              |
| 2:00       | Intermission                                  |
| 4:35       | Opening music                                 |
| 4:40       | Folk music                                    |
| 5:25       | Songs   |
| 5:40       | Book and historical novels narration          |
| 6:10       | Music   |
| 6:40       | Broadcast to school-age children              |
| 7:10       | Broadcast to youngsters and children          |
| 7:30       | Sports  |
| 7:45       | Broadcasting theater (live broadcast of play) |

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\*For people doing calisthenics to follow step by step as broadcast.

|           |                             |
|-----------|-----------------------------|
| 8:45 p.m. | Music                       |
| 9:00      | Common knowledge of science |
| 9:15      | Foreign music               |
| 10:00     | Symphonic music             |
| 11:00     | News dictation              |
| 1:30 a.m. | Conclusion                  |

The 7:30 p.m. program is alternatively sports and talks on sanitation from Monday to Sunday. Only on Mondays the songs by request are broadcast at 1:15 p.m. Except Tuesday and Sunday, there is no program from 2:00 p.m. to 4:00 p.m. on this second set of programs. Otherwise, the second set is quite stable

The third set of programs is: 1000, 1160 K.C.

|           |  |
|-----------|--|
| 5:40 p.m. | Opening music and preview of programs      |
| 5:45      | Folk music                                 |
| 6:00      | Local opera                                |
| 6:55      | Installment broadcasting of novels         |
| 7:25      | News in brief                              |
| 7:30      | Broadcasting theater                       |
| 10:00     | Book review and historical novel narration |
| 10:30     | Local music                                |
| 11:00     | Conclusion                                 |

On Sundays, the third set of programs starts at 8:50 a.m. Otherwise the programs are stable. The Sunday morning supplement of the third set of programs on September 8, 1963 was:

|            |                                       |
|------------|---------------------------------------|
| 8:50 a.m.  | Opening music and preview of programs |
| 9:00       | Music                                 |
| 10:00      | Poetry reading                        |
| 11:00      | Music (Western)                       |
| 11:30      | Folk opera                            |
| 12:45 p.m. | Folk music                            |
| 2:00       | Intermission                          |
| 5:40       | Same as weekdays....                  |

In the first set of the programs, 150 minutes (2½ hours) are news programs of which only 15 minutes are devoted to international news. The 7:30 a.m. program is not a straight international news report. It is billed as the "Geography of the World." In the second set of programs, five hours are set aside for news dictation for monitors in the nation. There is an hour of news, including 15 minutes of international news. In the third set, there is only a five-minute news in brief.

The news programs of the Central People's Broadcasting Station are to be rebroadcast by the Provincial and Municipal People's Broadcasting Stations all over the nation. The local and regional stations can only add their own local or regional news. For international and national news they must rebroadcast the output of the Central People's Broadcasting Station.

As an illustration of the programs presented by regional or municipal stations, the following are the logs of the Kwangtung Provincial People's Broadcasting Station and Kwangcho (Canton) Municipal People's Broadcasting Station for August 17, 1959:

Kwangtung People's Broadcasting Station: 1060 K.C.

|           |                                    |
|-----------|------------------------------------|
| 5:30 a.m. | Songs and folk music               |
| 6:00      | Canton Songs                       |
| 6:45      | Song                               |
| 7:00      | Domestic and international news    |
| 7:20      | Canton opera                       |
| 7:40      | Russian songs and instrument music |
| 8:00      | News in Hakka dialect              |
| 8:15      | News in Chaochow dialect           |
| 8:30      | Peking opera                       |

|            |   |
|------------|---|
| 12:05 p.m. | Canton songs  |
| 1:00       | Provincial and municipal news   |
| 1:15       | Teaching singing  |
| 1:45       | Scientific knowledge  |
| 5:40       | Canton songs  |
| 6:00       | News and explanation of current events  |
| 6:20       | Chaochow opera  |
| 6:40       | Rebroadcast of the Central People's Broadcasting Station's "Life in the People's Liberation Army" |
| 7:00       | Canton opera  |
| 7:45       | Chaochow music  |
| 8:00       | Broadcast to the rural area   |
| 8:30       | Song of the week  |
| 9:00       | Joint broadcast to the fishermen by all the stations in Kwangtung                                 |
| 9:30       | Song of the week  |
| 9:35       | Novel broadcasting  |
| 10:00      | Chinese instrument music  |
| 10:15      | News final  |

**Kwangchow (Canton) Municipal People's Broadcasting Station: 790 K.C.**

|            |   |
|------------|---|
| 5:30 a.m.  | Rebroadcast of the news program from the Central People's Broadcasting Station        |
| 5:45       | Repartee in Cantonese   |
| 6:00       | Provincial and municipal news   |
| 6:15       | Rebroadcast of digest of the capital press from Central People's Broadcasting Station |
| 6:45       | Peking opera  |
| 7:20       | Violin solo   |
| 7:40       | Canton songs  |
| 8:00       | Drama critique  |
| 8:30       | Hakka opera   |
| 9:05       | Canton songs  |
| 9:50       | Mongolian songs   |
| 10:15      | Movie digests   |
| 11:00      | Piano   |
| 12:00 p.m. | Folk music  |
| 12:30      | Motherland in leap forward  |
| 1:00       | Repartee in Cantonese   |
| 5:00       | Canton songs  |
| 5:25       | Music for the children  |

|           |  |
|-----------|--|
| 5:40 p.m. | Broadcasting short stories   |
| 5:55      | Peking opera   |
| 6:10      | Learning to sing   |
| 6:30      | News and explanation of current events   |
| 6:50      | Music  |
| 7:10      | Shanghai opera   |
| 7:45      | Kwangchow (Canton) life  |
| 8:15      | Short stories  |
| 8:30      | Nationwide simultaneous broadcasting   |
| 9:00      | Rebroadcast of international current events<br>from the Central People's Broadcasting<br>Station |
| 9:10      | Canton songs   |
| 9:30      | Motherland in leap forward   |
| 10:00     | Mandarin program of Radio Moscow   |
| 10:30     | Russian music <sup>105</sup>   |

In Communist China radio schedules are published only partially in the newspapers. For example, the first set of programs of the Peking People's Broadcasting Station lists 45 items. Yet the local newspaper radio guide lists only eight. All eight are musical programs.

The same practice is followed with the schedules of the provincial People's Broadcasting Stations. For instance, the programs of Kiangsi People's Broadcasting Station on October 15, 1956, as printed in the Kiangsi Daily were:<sup>106</sup>

|            |                           |
|------------|---------------------------|
| 12:45 p.m. | Songs and music           |
| 1:30       | Opera                     |
| 6:10       | Folk drama                |
| 8:00       | Broadcast to the villages |
| 9:45       | Peking opera              |
| 10:45      | Music                     |

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<sup>105</sup> Kwangtung Kwangpu (Kwangtung Broadcasting), No. 216, August 13, 1959, Canton.

<sup>106</sup> Kiangsi Jih Pao (Kiangsi Daily), October 15, 1956.

Missing in the Kiangsi station's printed schedule is the rebroadcast of news and international news from the Central People's Broadcasting Station. Omission of the simultaneous broadcasts each day at 8:30 p.m. is reasonable since it has been stabilized. It can be that the rebroadcast of the Central station's national news and international news are omitted for the same reason.

It is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to estimate the amount of broadcasting by the county or communal wired broadcasting stations. A recent report on rural broadcasting said:

Using more than 4.5 million loudspeakers scattered throughout the rural, pastoral and forest areas, these stations generally broadcast from three to four hours a day....<sup>107</sup>

Another story reveals that in a certain Chunan County of Shangtung province, wired broadcasting starts every evening at 8:30. Presumably, by this hour the peasants have stopped working in the field. This story is a description of the Chunan County Station and it offers enough bits and pieces of information for us to construct a hypothetical schedule for a county wired station:<sup>108</sup>

|           |   |
|-----------|---|
| 8:30 p.m. | Rebroadcast of Central People's Broadcasting Station's "Simultaneous Broadcasting." |
| 9:00      | Rebroadcast of the provincial station's special program for rural areas.            |
| 9:20      | Folk drama or Peking opera  |
|           | Weather report  |
| 10:00     | The county's own program  |
| 10:20     | Talk on agricultural technique  |
| 10:30     | Music, opera, weather forecast  |
| 11:30     | Conclusion  |

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<sup>107</sup>Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 3037, August 12, 1963, p. 17.

<sup>108</sup>Yu Yu-hsiu, "Radio in the Villages," China Reconstructs, April, 1963, pp. 11-12.

These county stations probably get their foreign news programs from the Central People's Broadcasting Station's "Simultaneous Broadcasting." In the above-mentioned story on the Chunan County, it is reported:

Last October, when U.S. imperialism imposed a blockade on Cuba, they (the announcers of the station) dealt in detail with the circumstances of Cuba's revolution, the heroism with which her people are defending their country, and the geography, history and life of the island nation.<sup>109</sup>

In a still earlier report it was reported that the world-wide Communist Congress in Moscow was broadcast live by the county stations in Manchuria.<sup>110</sup>

There is little information on the handling of foreign news by the county stations. But one can be sure that they all follow the lead of the Central Station in Peking.

#### Party and the County Wired Radio Stations

Supposedly, the county government decides what local news should be broadcast by the county station. In most cases, however, the local Party cells make the decision. For instance, here is a report on the wired stations around the outskirts of Shanghai:

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<sup>109</sup> Yu, Yu-hsiu, op. cit., p. 10.

<sup>110</sup> Kwangming Jih Pao (Kwangming Daily), August 25, 1958.

The wired broadcasting network in the suburb of Shanghai is an effective weapon for the county office of the Party to command production, arrange work and carry out Communist ways of education. The station is also a part of the cultural life of the masses. The wired network's main duty is to serve the central task of production and policy of the Party.<sup>111</sup>

Another illustration from Heilunkiang province:

That Heilunkiang can rapidly establish a wired broadcasting network is due to its reliance on the leadership of the Party and the masses.

Among all the shock works done this year, most of them were directly guided by the Party secretaries who have made this a part of their central task.<sup>112</sup>

Occasional references to the wired stations in the Chinese Communist literature suggest that in a county it was the county or communal Party secretary who both controlled and used the wired broadcasting system.

We quote a part of a short story:

After lunch the wind blew harder and harder. Suddenly there was the voice of the communal Party secretary coming through the loudspeakers. He was commanding the frost-fighting. Once he gave the order, the action came like a mountain collapsing. Within a short while, noises of the people and the beating of gongs filled up the street.... It was like a battle.<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>111</sup>"Shanghai Has Basically Established Wired Stations in its Suburbs," Wahsientien Yu Tien-shih (Radio and Television), No. 10, 1959, pp. 8-9.

<sup>112</sup>Kwangming Jih Pao (Kwangming Daily), August 25, 1958.

<sup>113</sup>Li Tseng, "On Plough," in Enjoyment of Short Stories of 1960, Peking, China Youth Publishing Company, 1961.

#### IX. Audience Feedback and Listening Behavior

Public opinion in Communist China is mobilized to serve the Party, and radio is only one of the political tools of the Party.

Radio workers should use practical events and lively language to arouse the class consciousness of the masses, cultivate patriotic feeling, strengthen the hatred of the enemy and the march along the road under the direction of Chairman Mao. Radio stations, especially municipal radio stations, must make themselves centers for political agitation....<sup>114</sup>

To promote this sort of political agitation, the Communists organized monitoring teams, the so-called "broadcasting assemblies" and the correspondent system.

In big cities, monitors are asked to discover "activists" among workers or the general public. These activists are invited to the stations to broadcast their working experiences. In 1950, there were: 1) 15,000 activists who had broadcast their working experiences in Shanghai; 2) 52 groups of activists in Peking and 2,224 members of the groups had broadcast to the public; 3) in Tientsin there were 470 groups of activists and some 1,700 members went to the stations to broadcast their experiences and 4) the Shenyang People's Broadcasting Stations of Liaoning province organized 478 discussion meetings among the activists.<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>114</sup> Mei Yi, "How Should the Radio Stations Connect Themselves with the Masses?", People's Daily, April 26, 1950.

<sup>115</sup> Mei Yi, loc. cit.

The so-called "broadcasting assemblies" consist of a mass meeting with live broadcasts and organized listening. The procedure is to broadcast mass meetings and organize people to listen.

From 1949 to 1952 several nationwide mass campaigns were mobilized and everywhere people were organized to listen to the live broadcasts of the meetings. For example, in March, 1951, a nationwide "Suppression of Counter-revolutionaries movement was carried out. People were organized to listen to the shouting masses in the meetings and the sound of the summary executions of the "counter-revolutionaries."

An incomplete list of numbers of people who had been organized to listen to this campaign is as follows:<sup>116</sup>

| <u>Place</u> | <u>Number of People Organized</u>   |
|--------------|---|
| Peking       | 300,000   |
| Nanking      | 430,000   |
| Chungking    | 300,000   |
| Chinan       | 150,000   |
| Tientsin     | 900,000 (430,000 residents of the city; 250,000 workers; 150,000 students; 70,000 residents in the suburbs) |

When, in 1951, a delegation of the "Chinese People's Volunteers" returned from the Korean front to tell their "heroic deeds in Korea," the estimated number of people organized to listen to this live broadcast was some 100 million.<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>116</sup> Hsin Hwa Yueh Pao (New China Monthly), Vol. 4, No. 1, 1951, pp. 180-181.

<sup>117</sup> Chou Yang, "Broadcasting in China," People's China, No. 22, 1953, pp. 28-30.

The "broadcasting assemblies" had another surge in 1958, the period of the Great Leap Forward. In 1958, the Heilunkiang Provincial and Municipal People's Broadcasting Station organized 44 broadcasting assemblies. The average number of persons per one assembly was from 2,000,000 to 4,000,000.<sup>118</sup>

Besides the monitors who organized listening, there were local correspondents who reported to the stations on local events and possibly on people's sentiments. In 1950, the Shanghai Municipal People's Broadcasting Station had 1,100 local correspondents. The Shenyang People's Broadcasting Station had 220 local correspondents, including those in the army.<sup>119</sup>

Like the broadcasting assemblies, the correspondent system was also revived in 1958. In that year, the Heilunkiang Provincial People's Broadcasting Station had 5,000 local correspondents. They were activists or Party members.<sup>120</sup>

The Party also appears to be interested in listeners' responses. The Central People's Broadcasting Station urged its listeners to write to the station. "Designated personnel are responsible for analyzing and answering the hundreds of letters and suggestions received every day. The station also holds forums of radio fans, and arranges for

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<sup>118</sup> Hsin-Wen Chan-Hsien (News Front), No. 1, 1959, p. 10.

<sup>119</sup> Mei Yi, People's Daily, April 25, 1950.

<sup>120</sup> "Go Deep into Practical Things," Hsin-Wen Chan-Hsien (News Front), No. 1, 1959, p. 15.

audiences to meet the station's editors, reporters, announcers and actors so that they can exchange ideas. From time to time we send our staff to factories, communes and army units to collect opinions from a wider public so that we can do better in enriching the spiritual life of the people through our broadcasting."<sup>121</sup>

According to the Communists, the number of letters received by the Central station was as follows:<sup>122</sup>

| Year | Total Letters Received | Letters from the  |                     |
|------|------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|
|      |                        | Domestic Audience | Letters from Abroad |
| 1954 | 45,600                 | 3,400             | 3,400               |
| 1955 | 20,441                 | 4,500             | 3,400               |

(in the first half of the year of 1955 only)

<sup>121</sup>

Pai Chin, "Rich and Colorful Broadcasting Programmes," China Reconstructs, July, 1961, p. 36.

<sup>122</sup>

Combination of Lin Ta-kuang, "Broadcasting for the People," China Reconstructs, August, 1955, p. 3 and Wen Chi-tse, "Ten Years of People's Broadcasting," Hsin-Hwa Yu-Pao (New China Monthly), No. 10, 1955, p. 233.

### Radio Listening Behavior

In Communist China, as in any Communist country, there are two types of radio listening. One is private listening; the other is organized collective listening. The number of the first type of listeners in China is small since not many can afford to buy radios. But the system of compulsory collective listening which has been vigorously promoted by the regime is believed to have covered almost the entire East China and Manchuria.

### The New Elite and Radio Listening

In Communist China today, a five-valve radio costs \$50.40 and a four-valve set \$20. Only two elite groups -- the professionals and the politician-soldiers -- can afford to buy them.

There are three types of professionals: managers, technicians and physicians.

1) Managers. These are former "capitalists" whose factories or stores have been nationalized, who now serve as managers of these factories or stores and who receive regular salaries and dividends from the government. There are about 1,000,000 such professionals in the country.<sup>123</sup>

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<sup>123</sup> Snow, op. cit., p. 197.

2) Technicians. The salaries of engineers and technicians range from \$40 to \$80 a month.<sup>124</sup> Between 1949 and 1960, Communist China graduated 230,000 engineers.<sup>125</sup> By 1963 it had about 618,000 engineers.<sup>126</sup>

3) Physicians. Their monthly income ranges from \$22 to \$120, depending on their rank in the hospitals.<sup>127</sup> There are 50,000 to 75,000 doctors in Communist China.<sup>128</sup>

There are two types of politician-soldiers: the military officers and personnel and Party cadres.

By 1963 the strength of the Communist Chinese armed forces is estimated at 3,000,000 and among them, 300,000 are officers.<sup>129</sup>

Edgar Snow wrote about the pay scale in the army:

Marshals and generals are the highest paid of government employees. The monthly pay scale given to me may be converted into U.S. dollars as follows: privates start at \$2.50; corporals get \$4; platoon leaders, \$5; second lieutenants, \$20; first lieutenants, \$24; captains, \$29-\$33; majors, \$39-\$44; lieutenant colonels, \$51-\$60; colonels, \$62-\$64; senior colonels, \$62-\$84; lieutenant generals, \$144-\$160; full generals, \$192-\$236; marshals of the army, \$360-\$400.<sup>130</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> Snow, op. cit., pp. 200-208.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid., p. 222.

<sup>126</sup> Oreleans, Leo A., Professional Manpower and Education in Communist China, Library of Congress, 1960, p. 165.

<sup>127</sup> "Interview: 'Years of Constant Caution,'" Current Scene, Hong Kong, Vol. 1, No. 14, p. 8.

<sup>128</sup> Oreleans, op. cit., p. 141.

<sup>129</sup> Fei-Chin Yuen-Pao (Monthly Intelligence Report on the Communists), October, 1962, Taipei, Republic of China.

<sup>130</sup> Snow, op. cit., p. 289.

The figures apparently represent cash payment, or, as the Chinese put it, the "real salary." But enlisted men all receive subsidies and officers get even more of such "welfare funds."

By 1961 the Party had 17,000,000 members.<sup>131</sup> Obviously not all of the cadres have high income. Those stationed in the cities are usually better off than those in rural areas.

These five types of people can afford to buy radios not only because they are highly paid, but also because they have ready cash. A journalist, Stanley Karnow, wrote of his interview with refugees in Hong Kong:

...A man from Nanking described how bewildered, hungry country folk wandered into the city's few "free" restaurants -- patronized by army officers, party officials, and highly paid technicians.... An English-made Raleigh (bicycle) is worth in Canton eight times its Hong Kong price.... Highly paid technicians, recipients of remittances from abroad, Chinese returned from overseas, former property-owners receiving State dividends...will pay ten times the legal exchange to get them....<sup>132</sup>

Refugees also told of selling whatever property was left to the rich army officer's wives to get travel expenses to Hong Kong.

These five groups constitute Communist China's new elite. They are more likely to buy radio sets than other segments of the population. They are also more sophisticated radio listeners than the illiterate and rural residents.

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<sup>131</sup> Lewis, John Wilson, Leadership in Communist China, New York, Cornell University Press, 1963, p. 111.

<sup>132</sup> Karnow, Stanley, "Why They Fled: Refugee Accounts," Current Scene, Hong Kong, Vol. II, No. 22, October 15, 1963, p. 3.

In his study of the word-of-mouth communication in Communist China, Barton Whaley reported that professionals and students do not depend upon the word-of-mouth type of communication as much as other less educated groups, that radio and newspapers are important information media for "soldiers-officials-policemen," and that radios are used most by the city residents, particularly students.<sup>133</sup>

But to the professionals and students, radio is only one of the media available to them. There is reason to believe that like the elite in the United States, they probably spend more time on newspapers, magazines or journals than on radio listening.<sup>134</sup> One can also assume that these educated and privileged radio owners tend to be selective listeners, that they plan and control their listening and that they do not have to conform to any rigid pattern of collective listening.

This elite group has also easier access to foreign broadcasts than the masses. The technicians are probably more motivated to learn a second language since they also have accesses to foreign technical journals. Many former "capitalists" still possess American-made Philco or RCA radios. Conceivably, they could continue to be interested in the Western world. A former Shanghai banker, interviewed in Hong Kong in

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<sup>133</sup> Mr. Whaley did the study in 1959 while most of the respondents in the study left Communist China in 1957. Mr. Whaley is now doing research for the Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

<sup>134</sup> One is reminded of Lazarsfeld's finding that preference for radio goes up and interest in printed medium goes down with declining cultural level. See Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Radio and the Printed Page, New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1940, p. 98.

1963, said that it had previously required real courage to listen to foreign radio broadcasts, recalling cases of children informing on their fathers. "Now it is no longer dangerous to turn on the BBC or the Voice of America," he said.<sup>135</sup>

At one time it did not seem likely that the low-ranking military personnel and Party cadres could be interested in foreign broadcasts. Few of them were well educated and even fewer knew a foreign language. But stations like RBC or Voice of America have programs in Mandarin and other Chinese dialects. The fact that few of them own radio sets is no serious obstacle either. They simply use the public sets, which they supervise, for their private listening.

According to a Communist defector, Kao U-chung, listening to broadcasts from Taiwan or to VOA is quite common on the mainland:

To listen to the broadcast from Taiwan secretly has become a "fashionable" thing on the mainland. This is especially true with respect to the Party cadres. Most of them either have private radios or are in charge of the public sets.... My friend Chao\* listened to the Voice of Free China and Voice of America while living at the dormitory of "Civil Aviation Bureau in Tsinan." Even when he was undergoing training at the Communist Fifth Aviation School he often listened to Voice of Free China while on duty at midnight. One night he found the radio set at the club room missing. Passing by his commander's room, he heard a familiar and low voice from the radio inside. He entered the commander's room without knocking. The commander was terrified. Chao smiled and closed the door behind him. And they sat down and listened together. This sort of thing is quite common nowadays on the mainland.<sup>136</sup>

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<sup>135</sup>Karnow, op. cit., p. 7.

<sup>136</sup>Kao U-chung, "The Broken Nest," Shih-Shih Tsan-Kao Tse-Liao (Reference Materials on Current Affairs), Government Information Office, Taiwan, Dec. 31, 1961, p. 42.

\*Both Kao and Chao defected to Taiwan.

To be caught listening to a foreign broadcast or to the Voice of Free China can be disastrous to anyone on the mainland. Mr. Kao reported that a pilot was sentenced to five-year imprisonment for listening to Voice of America. But the situation seems to be somewhat less tense than before and more people appear to listen to foreign broadcasts.

But what type of foreign programs do these secret listeners prefer? Kao reported:

Broadcasts to the mainland should not be the soft music programs with no political content. The Chinese Communists have "educated" the Chinese people on the mainland for 12 years. The population is used to "political life" now. Their political consciousness is high and they are eager for this type of program.<sup>137</sup>

Kao also suggested the need for more programs for the elite, particularly Party cadres. He noted that the cadres and high ranking government officials can be reached far more easily than the peasantry.

#### The Proletariat and Radio Listening

An average Chinese worker earns about \$30 a month. The lowest wage is about \$15 a month; the highest can be \$50. It seems hard to believe that a family of a worker would spend more than 70 percent of its monthly income on a radio set. Yet visitors to the Chinese mainland often write about seeing workers living in comfortable apartments and possessing radios and other consumer goods. A British author recently described a Chinese worker's life:

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<sup>137</sup> Kao, op. cit., p. 49.

He will in most cases be sharing his apartment with another family,... He has a bed for his wife and himself, and a separate bed for his children; a radio, tables and chairs, and a picture of Chairman Mao Tze-tung on the wall.... These, it must be remembered, are the showplaces, the best accommodation available to the more fortunate workers. Millions, in the cities, must still live in the crowded old dwellings of yore.

Having paid his rent, and bought his food, the average worker has two-thirds of his wages left, about \$20. What can he do with it? Here the picture is a little different. The goods are there -- clothes, radios, bicycles, furniture -- but the prices are not so very different from those for the cheaper ranges of similar goods in the West. Roughly speaking, he is in the position of a man with the wages of 1933 living in the world of 1963....

The subject of buying anything on credit amuses the Chinese. This device is simply unknown in Red China. What Chang does with his money, after he has paid for his rent and his food, is to save it, and he may need it for the family doctor.<sup>138</sup>

The same source reported that the most common luxury found in a Chinese worker's home is a radio.

As of 1959, the workers and employees in Communist China totaled some 32 million.<sup>139</sup> It is not known how many of them have radios and live in apartments. But almost all factories have wired speakers. A worker is a captive listener for at least eight hours a day and six days a week while he works.

Some people go to a friend's home or to a club room for radio listening. This listening pattern is perhaps the most common one on the mainland. A recent news report about a group of young workers gives this picture:

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<sup>138</sup>Lister, Richard P., "Chinese Workers' Pay 30 Years Behind Times," The Boston Globe, May 24, 1963.

<sup>139</sup>Oreleans, op. cit., p. 162.

In the evening, you can always find these young men gathering in a friend's home with radio. They like to listen to news and commentaries....<sup>140</sup>

Apparently workers do quite a bit of radio listening together both in public places and in private homes. They have, of course, no control over the programs of the organized, compulsory collective listening. But they can probably have some of their own choices when they listen in small, private groups.

Though not all well-educated, Chinese workers are more cosmopolitan than the rural residents or peasants. Modern technology was introduced to China from the West and many older workers probably even had some contact with Western technicians in pre-Communist China. Their world is less constricted than that of the peasants in China.

The workers in China are probably also more aware of and more interested in politics than the peasants. The illiteracy rate among workers is relatively low. Moreover, plenty of the educated and privileged in the old society have joined Communist China's new labor force. Barton Whaley reported a relatively high percentage of manual workers who list newspaper as a source of information for both national and local news. He also noted that some of these people were probably not laborers in the pre-Communist days. At any rate it seems reasonable to expect the workers, by and large, to have more interest in listening to radio news than peasants.

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<sup>140</sup> Chung-Kuo Ching-Nien Pao (China Youth Daily), June 20, 1963.

Chinese Peasants and Radio Listening

In 1959, according to incomplete statistics, 17,000 communes in 24 provinces, cities and autonomous regions could be reached through wired broadcasting. In other words, 64.9 percent of all the communes in these 24 provinces which constitute practically all the territory in China have wired stations and loudspeakers.<sup>141</sup>

By the same year even in Inner Mongolia, 58 percent of communes had established wired stations. If we accept the Communist estimate that in 1957 one loudspeaker served 80 people every day and that there were to be some 4,457,000 speakers by 1959, then 350,000,000 people, mostly peasants, listen to wired broadcast every day.

Communist publications are full of reports that dramatize peasants' initial enthusiastic responses toward radio. One peasant was quoted as saying:

If only the loudspeaker were fixed, and we could listen to the broadcasts, I would not mind doing any amount of work.

Little information is available on the number of radio sets owned by peasants. Communist reports are generally vague. For example, a report released by the Economics Department of the University of Peking merely states that in Si Chao Chuan County, its survey teams found "many peasant homes with radios."<sup>142</sup> Very few foreign visitors to Communist China had anything specific to report. Edgar Snow, for instance, writes:

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<sup>141</sup> Hsin-Wen Chan-Hsien (News Front), No. 10, 1959, p. 25.

<sup>142</sup> Kwangming Jih Pao (Kwangming Daily), April 25, 1963.

Again and again, and all over the country I saw peasant homes with one or more of the following: wall clocks, radios, vacuum bottles, furniture....<sup>143</sup>

Snow did not mention the specific towns or counties that he visited. Around Peking there are many show-case counties and communes. But such cases are by no means typical. Rural communities near great urban centers are obviously more fortunate than the remote villages. How, then, will these fortunate, or unfortunate, peasants use their radios? In the absence of survey data, the answer is necessarily speculative.

First, radio is often thought as the medium that can bypass the obstacle of illiteracy. This is not always true. Daniel Lerner reports that some Middle Eastern peasants found it difficult to understand the kind of radio news that was written out in writing style and then read.<sup>144</sup>

In Communist China, radio news is generally presented in the written style of the Chinese language. Nevertheless, the regime has revised the written Chinese to be as close to vernacular as possible. On the other hand, the village wired broadcasting stations often invite "progressive" peasants to broadcast to the local people in their own dialect. But such features deal mostly with methods of farming and they are on air for about ten minutes every day. The bulk of the radio program is the political information which is prepared by New China News Agency (NCNA) and transmitted by Central People's Broadcasting Station (Radio Peking). Whether the peasants can comprehend such programs completely is a moot question.

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<sup>143</sup> Snow, op. cit., p. 448.

<sup>144</sup> Lerner, Daniel, The Passing of Traditional Society, Illinois, The Free Press, 1958, p. 190.

Second, there is the problem of empathy. Lerner writes about some Lebanese peasants:

Some villagers cannot follow the simplified form of classical Arabic used in broadcasts and newspapers. Others who could "follow" the language were troubled by the analytic mode of presentation, the unaccustomed categories of discourse, and the impersonality of the mass media. These blocks render such messages unintelligible to persons raised in the oral tradition.<sup>145</sup>

Thus, even if one can "follow" the language, lack of empathic capability can be another block. Empathy is the capacity to see oneself in the other fellow's situation.<sup>146</sup> Information from the mass media demands empathy to understand the vicarious world presented by the messages.

Empathy can not be acquired instantly. It is a product of several factors in the social environment. Lerner considers physical mobility the most crucial one:

The historic increase of psychic mobility begins with the expansion of physical travel. Historians conventionally date the modern era from the Age of Exploration.... Gradually the technical means of transporting live bodies improved and physical displacement became an experience lived through by millions of plain folk earlier bounded to some ancestral spot. Geographical mobility became, in this phase, the usual vehicle of social mobility....

The expansion of psychic mobility means that more people now command greater skill in imagining themselves as strange persons in strange situations, places and times than did people in any previous historical epoch. In our time, indeed, the spread of empathy around the world is accelerating. The earlier increase of physical experience through transportation has been multiplied by the spread of mediated experience through mass communication.<sup>147</sup>

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<sup>145</sup> Lerner, op. cit., p. 190.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid., p. 50.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid., p. 52.

On both scores, the physical mobility and empathy, Chinese peasants must be graded low. Sung I-ching, a Chinese author, describes the attributes of contemporary Chinese peasants that have been shaped by their traditional way of life:

The essential units of Chinese villages used to be family, small land ownership, freedom and self-sufficiency. This mode of rural society has brought about three characteristics which are relevant to politics. First, the Chinese peasants' lives revolve around a set piece of land. They do not want to change this style of life. They do not want to leave their lands. Their travels seldom exceed a hundred miles. If a Chinese peasant does in another village, his bones must be returned to his own land and be buried there. To travel afar is against any Chinese peasant's will. Second, because of this pattern of family-agriculture, small-scale farming and self-reliance, there has been no deep social relationship among the Chinese peasants. Within a village, the peasants rarely visit one another. Neighbors can be ignorant of each other for practically all their lives. Third, Chinese peasants have been diehard conservatives. Except for their own community they do not know any other world. Except for their own farming, Chinese peasants care nothing. Politics and ideology can not intrigue them or influence their traditional way of life....<sup>148</sup>

How, then, does all this affect the peasants' radio listening? To understand this interaction we compare what Lerner found in the Middle East with the situation in Communist China.

First Lerner found that the tradition-oriented persons, mostly peasants, care nothing and are not interested in events beyond their immediate environment. Thus, even when the opportunity exists, there are more non-listeners among the farmers than among the other segments of the population.

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<sup>148</sup> Sung, I-ching, Chung-Kuo Noon-Min Ti Min-Yun (The Fate of the Chinese Farmers), Hong Kong, Modern Publishers, 1957, p. 13.

In Whaley's study, 387 peasants were asked the news sources for national news in Communist China and only five of them cited radio as one of the sources, about 1.3 percent of the total. Among the professionals it was 10.3 percent and among the workers it was 6.8 percent. On the sources for foreign news, three out of 335 peasants cited radio as one of the sources, about 0.9 percent. Among the professionals it was 6.5 percent and the workers 7.0 percent. As Sung pointed out earlier, Chinese peasants care for little except their community and their own livelihood.

However, the Chinese Communists have built wired radio broadcasting systems in the villages. The decision to turn on or off the broadcasts is made by the Communist officials, not by the peasants. The speakers are installed in such strategic spots as the village squares and the working field. Thus the regime wishes to reach the masses directly.

There is no doubt that a considerable part of the Chinese peasants are exposed to all sorts of official propaganda messages. But to be exposed to the messages is one thing, and to accept them is quite another.

Second, according to Lerner, "Selective perception enables Traditionals, exposed to the media in limited dosage, to notice only those messages which confirm their customs and values."<sup>149</sup> Thus, those Arabs who listen to radio favor the reading of Koran.

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<sup>149</sup> Lerner, op. cit., p. 178.

In the case of Chinese peasants, the Communists admitted that the peasants favored the programs of traditional drama and plays the most. In one county wired broadcasting station, "more than half the station's time on the air is devoted to cultural programs. Peking Opera is the great favorite among older farmers. Performances carried on the central and provincial stations are recorded and rebroadcast to meet their desires...."<sup>150</sup> For these plays are the age-old means of recreation for Chinese peasants. Moreover, these plays talk mostly about male and female, filial piety and chastity, husband and wife, and mother-in-law and daughter-in-law. These are the things that every Chinese peasant in a traditional setting can understand.

Whaley found that Chinese peasants were interested in information about their relatives the most and were interested in the military affairs the least. Whaley also reported that most of the peasants had very vague or no idea about the meaning of Peking or the Central Government.

So far we have dealt with the specific mentality of the peasants and its effect on radio listening. Be. we conclude this section, one more point has to be noted. That is, the Communists combine the impersonal media communication with face-to-face support for the messages. In this way the message is reinforced and hence has deeper effect.

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Yu, Yu-hsiu, "Radio in the Villages," China Reconstructs, Peking, April, 1963, p. 13.

This face-to-face support of the message from radio, newspaper or movie is carried out through the professional agitators and other "activists." In Communist China today a new generation of this type of intermediary has been created. Since 1960 some 40 million middle-school graduates in Communist China have been sent down to the villages in return-to-village campaigns. According to the Communists, this campaign is designed to insure "correct Socialist thinking" among the students and to let students pass on their "culture" to the illiterate peasants.<sup>151</sup>

Nevertheless, it is a moot question how far the students sent to the villages will be willing to be the kind of intermediary between the mass media and the peasants that the Party wants them to be. Complaints, passive resistances and bitterness on the part of those sent to the villages are reported in the Communist press. However, in speaking about their bitterness and their longing for life in the city, the students were probably expanding the peasants' cognitive framework. Consciously or not, these students can become the agents of psychic mobility and empathy.

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<sup>151</sup> For example, a high school graduate recently wrote to the editor of China Youth Daily (Chung-Kuo Ching-Nien Pao), October 29, 1963, that he was advised to drop his newspaper subscription after he was sent to work in a village, "because they say it is not necessary for the farmer to subscribe to newspapers." The editor gave a long reply and ended with "we hope that you not only persist in your newspaper reading, but also regularly disseminate among the members of your commune the materials you have read in the newspapers, so that more people will be converted to regular newspaper reading."

Furthermore, the Communists have a sort of national and international ideology. They have to engage all followers in a kind of political understanding, and they have to develop, engineer and achieve "consensus" of the population. They have to involve the population in all sorts of struggles or campaigns. They try to force the population, so to speak, to have the type of empathy which is desired by the Party.

Indeed, as empathy grows and peasants' intellectual horizon enlarges, they may probably be more predisposed to be "listeners" rather than "non-listeners." But whether it will be the type of empathy and culture that the regime really advocates is anybody's guess.

### Conclusion

In retrospect, three things stand out in the development of radio industry in Communist China.

First, after 1955 a wired broadcasting network gradually replaced the monitor system. The wired broadcasting network is apparently intended to be the permanent network because the official radio journals speak constantly about the economy and function of the wired network both in peace and in war.

Second, radio network grew rather rapidly in 1958 -- the era of "Great Leap Forward." The number of wired broadcasting stations quadrupled and the loudspeakers tripled from 1957 to 1958. The output figures for radio sets tripled from 1957 to 1958. The wireless stations also grew considerably in this period, though with less surprising speed. Third, there was a sudden stoppage of information on the development of the radio broadcasting network after 1959. Occasional references were made to radio development in some regions. No national figures have been released since then.

It is entirely possible that the "Leap Forward" in the radio broadcasting network is over by now.

As noted earlier, the two big problems affecting the growth of the radio network in Communist China are the shortage of electric power and other technical problems of installations of wired stations in villages. However, in some provinces in East China and Manchuria, these problems either are not serious or simply do not exist. In 1958 these provinces

achieved good results as shown in Communist reports. Indeed, it is likely that these areas contributed largely to making the record of 4.5 million loudspeakers in China. Hence, they have more or less reached a point that probably no more large-scale development is called for. Any increase of wired loudspeakers or stations in these regions will likely be marginal.

The areas that need large scale network building are the vast interior in northwest and southwest China. The 1958 expansion did not seem to cover these regions. This is shown in the continued existence of radio monitoring teams there. But no easy and quick solution can be found to the technical and electricity-supply problem in these areas. When such solutions are found, one can expect the Chinese Communists to release some dramatic new figures about their radio industry. But at the moment there is no sign of any spectacular development.

It is difficult to speculate on the effectiveness of radio broadcasting in Communist China. This involves the problem of the supply of radio sets, the ability of the public to buy them, the number of listeners, the type of programs and the nature of audience predispositions.

For the elites, and the sophisticated urban workers, it seems that radio listening is more or less a matter of personal selection. As to the peasants it involves more sophisticated problems -- the degree of empathy, the style of broadcasting language and the organization of

face-to-face reinforcing agents. In Communist China today, the majority of the Chinese peasants are still illiterate and the Communists are still complaining about the peasants' "bourgeois tendency" of tending to their own business and caring nothing otherwise. Nevertheless, the government has made many timely adjustments such as the change of broadcasting language into conversational style and the creation of face-to-face intermediaries. As over time these factors mesh properly with one another, the Chinese peasants will gradually become more respondent to radio and other media.

NAMES & FREQUENCIES  
OF RADIO STATIONS IN  
COMMUNIST CHINA

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P = Provincial People's  
Broadcasting Station

M = Municipal People's  
Broadcasting Station

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1. I-chun
2. Haokang
3. Chiamussu, 610 KC
4. Chihsi
5. Mutanchiang, 750 KC
6. Harbin, M 660 KC  
P 164, 190, 910,  
1440 KC
7. Chichihaerh, 740 KC
8. Paicheng
9. Susping
10. Changchun 1330 KC
11. Kirin, M580 KC  
P 1390 KC
12. Liaoning, M 218,  
P 1240 KC
13. Tunghua
14. Yenching, 930 KC
15. Foushin, 1480 KC
16. Mukden, 690, 780 KC
17. Fushun, 850 KC
18. Liaoyang
19. Penchi, 1310 KC
20. Anshan, 950 KC
21. Chinchore 1410 KC
22. Yinchou
23. Luta 830 KC
24. Antung, 890 KC
25. Chaochiokou
26. Chengte
27. Chinghuangtao
28. Tangshan, 1450 KC
29. Tientsin, 790, 870  
1070, 1390 KC
30. Peking, Central  
People's Broad-  
casting Station,  
540, 560, 570, 630,  
640, 690, 760, 890,  
1020, 1330,; 600,  
610, 710, 720;  
1000, 1160 KC  
M 820, 1210 KC
31. Paoting
32. Shihchiachuang,  
1210 KC
33. Hantan

34. Taturg
35. Taiyuan, P 1100 KC
36. Yanchuan
37. Changchih
38. Chinan, P 1320 KC
39. Yentai
40. Chingtao, 850  
1490 KC
41. Hsinhsiang
42. Chiaotso
43. Kaifeng, P 950, 1460
44. Pintingshan
45. Nanyang
46. Hsingyang
47. Hsinhaiien
48. Hsuechow
49. Huaiyen
50. Yanchou
51. Nanking, M 1070 KC
52. Wuhsi, M 1400 KC
53. Suchou
54. Shanghai, M 800, 920,  
1040, 1210, 1290,  
1500 KC
55. Nantung
56. Huinan
57. Hefei, P 940 KC
58. Wuhu
59. Anching
60. Hanchou
61. Choushan, 1550 KC
62. Ningpo, 650 KC
63. Wenchou, 1450 KC
64. Wuhan, P 1390 KC
65. Shashih
66. Huanshih
67. Chiuchiang
68. Chingtechan
69. Nanchang, P 1160,  
840 KC
70. Kanchou
71. Fuchou, P 830,  
1470 KC
72. Changchou
73. Hsiamen
74. Swatou
75. Canton, P 1060 KC,  
M 660, 790, 1400 KC
76. Hainan, M 1210 KC
77. Nanning, P 1120 KC  
M 620 KC
78. Wuchou
79. Liuchou
80. Kweilin
81. Shaoyang
82. Hsiangtan

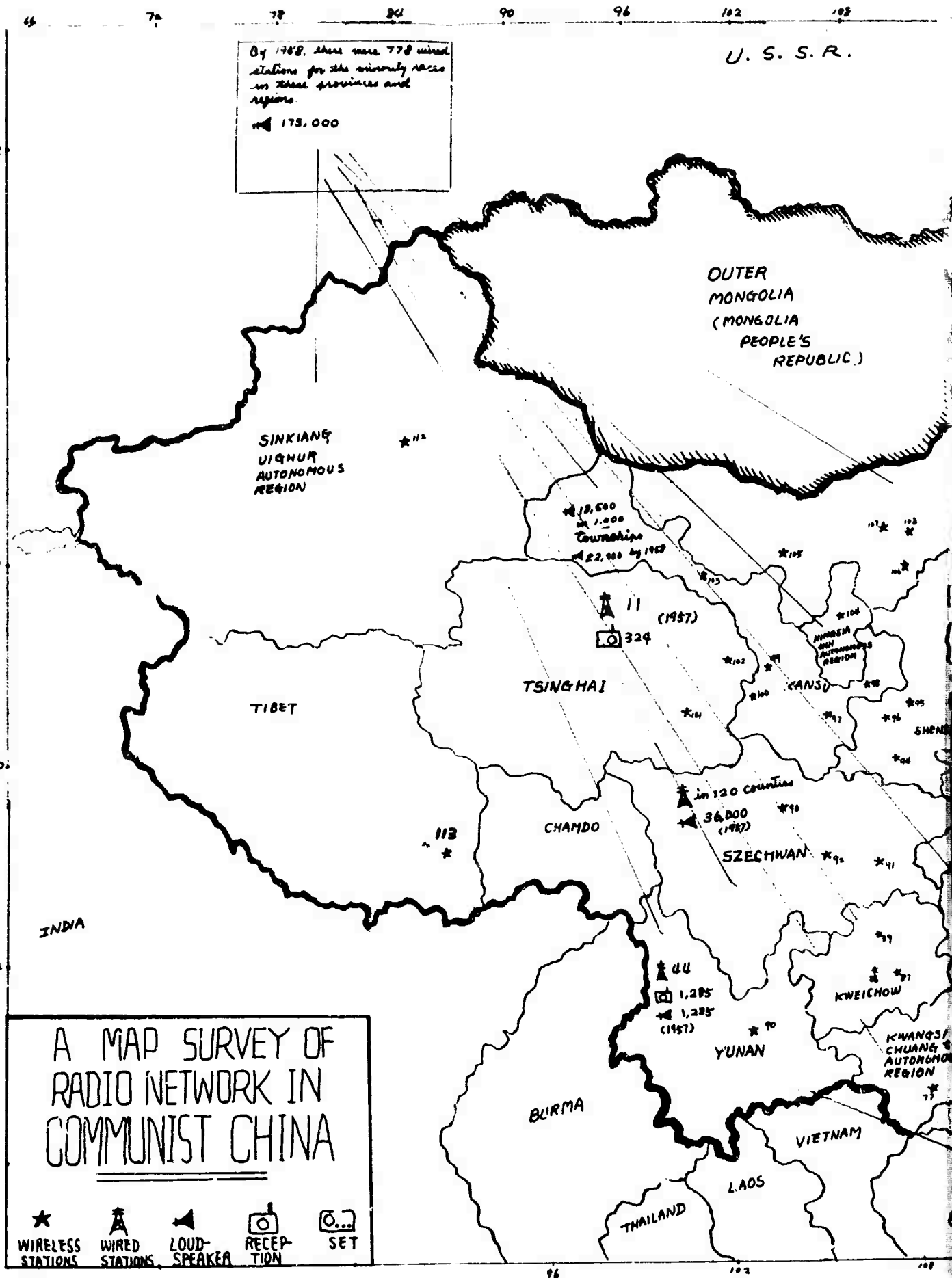
83. Chuchou
84. Changsha, P 1260 KC
85. Yuehyang
86. Changte
87. Tuyun
88. Kweichou, P 1000,  
1400 KC
89. Tsuni
90. Kunming, P 6925 KC  
M 810 KC
91. Chungking, P 1080  
1310 KC
92. Tzukung
93. Chengtu, M 780 KC
94. Hanchung
95. Hsian, P 1370 KC  
M 980, 690 KC
96. Paochi
97. Tienshui
98. Penliang
99. Lanchou, P 7324 KC  
860, 1050 KC
100. Kannan
101. Hainan Tibetan  
Autonomous Chou
102. Hsining, P 1010  
1250, 6260, 6500 KC
103. Chanyueh
104. Linshai Hui Autonomous  
Chou, 740, 7050 KC
105. Payennaerh
106. Ikochao Meng
107. Paotou, P 960, 6825,  
3090, 11040 KC
108. Huhohaote, 1380 KC
109. Chinning
110. Chaouita Meng
111. Hsilinkuolo
112. Urumchi
113. Kashgar\*
114. Lhasa

Distribution of Radio  
Stations According to  
Provinces:

| Province       | No. of<br>Stations |
|----------------|--------------------|
| Hopeh          | 10                 |
| Inner Mongolia | 10                 |
| Liaoning       | 10                 |
| Kirin          | 8                  |
| Heilunkiang    | 9                  |
| Kiangsu        | 10                 |
| Anhwei         | 5                  |
| Chekkiang      | 5                  |
| Fukien         | 4                  |
| Honan          | 7                  |
| Hupeh          | 4                  |
| Shansi         | 5                  |
| Shensi         | 4                  |
| Kansu          | 8                  |
| Tsinghai       | 3                  |
| Sinkiang       | 2                  |
| Shantung       | 4                  |
| Hunan          | 7                  |
| Kiangsi        | 5                  |
| Kwantung       | 4                  |
| Kwangsi        | 5                  |
| Szechwan       | 4                  |
| Kweichow       | 3                  |
| Yunan          | 2                  |
| Tibet          | 1                  |
| Shanghai *     | 1                  |
| Peking *       | 1                  |
| <hr/>          |                    |
| total          | 141                |

\* Both Shanghai and Peking  
are special districts under  
the direct administration  
of the State.

Note: \* No 114 may not exist  
at all. There are actually  
141 stations in China, but  
the map only shows 114.  
This is because in some  
cities there is more than  
one radio station.



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APPENDIX I

Ministry of Public Security Promulgates Measures for Control of Radio Equipment

Order of the Ministry of Public Security of the People's Republic of China

The "Regulations Governing the Control of Radio Equipment," as ratified by the Government Administration Council of the Central People's Government on September 25, 1954, are hereby promulgated for enforcement in all parts of the country.

Lo Jui-ching  
Minister

. . . . .

Regulations Governing the Control of Radio Equipment

Article 1. These regulations are specially formulated to strengthen the control of radio equipment and to prevent the use of this kind of equipment by counter-revolutionaries for subversion, with a view to consolidating the security of the State and safeguarding economic construction.

Article 2. The categories of radio equipment under control are:

- 1) Complete sets of radio transmitters, radio-receivers, voice transmitter-receivers, and voice/CW receivers.

(The last item refers to super-heterodyne receivers equipped with beat-frequency oscillator, and regenerative type receivers capable of receiving all bands of frequencies besides the band of broadcasting frequencies between 535 KC to 1605 KC. Receivers equipped with tuned radio frequency amplifying stage are classified as communication receivers.)

APPENDIX I (Page 2)

- 2) Complete sets of machines equipped with high frequency oscillator (such as high frequency radio therapeutic machines, high frequency electric heaters, high frequency softening equipment, beat-frequency oscillator instruments), and direction finders.
- 3) All types of audio frequency amplifiers (including amplifier of movie projector).
- 4) All kinds of transmitting tubes; receiving tubes with an output power of watts or above (calculated at class A working conditions); receiving tubes with an output power under 2 watts but with greater radiation power, such as tubes 34A, 30, 31, 33, 71A, etc.
- 5) All kinds of fixed condensers with a working D.C. voltage above 1500 volts.
- 6) Variable condensers with a space (between the fixed and the movable disc) of 1 mm. and above, sending keys, and crystals for transmitters.

Article 3. All controlled radio equipment belonging to the State, joint-State-private and private factories or commercial establishments, who are either engaged in the manufacture, repair or sale of such equipment, and all controlled radio equipment, and all controlled radio equipment in the possession of government organs, public bodies, public enterprises, schools of individual persons for non-commercial purposes are subject to control under these regulations.

APPENDIX I (Page 3)

Article 4. The possession and use of complete sets of radio transmitters, radio-communication receivers, voice transmitter-receivers, and voice-CW receivers are strictly limited for the State tele-communication and broadcasting organizations, who are allowed to install their stations in accordance with the "Provisional State Security Regulations." The installation of radio-communication receivers strictly required for their work is permitted in government organs, public bodies, public enterprises and technical schools above the grade of college, who shall apply to the People's Government of provincial (or municipal) level or above for permission of installation and shall be registered with the local public security authorities. Besides those mentioned above, all other units and persons are forbidden to possess or use (the afore-mentioned equipment).

Article 5. Factories and commercial establishments who are engaged in the manufacture, repair or sale of controlled radio equipment shall comply with the following procedures at the local Municipal or (Hsien) Public Security Bureaus or Branch Bureaus: filling out two Application Forms, attaching three copies of recent 2½ inch photo showing face and bust, without hat, and submitting in a separate form all the particulars of the managers, shareholders, employes and workers. After the Municipal (or Hsien) Public Security Bureau has examined and

APPENDIX I (Page 4)

approved the application and issued a business permit, the applicant shall then apply to the local industrial and commercial administrative authorities for trade registration. The complete sets of machines of the category specified in Paragraph (1), Article 2, are strictly forbidden to be manufactured, repaired or sold unless specially permitted. All traveling salesmen, secondhand goods dealers and street-stall keepers are forbidden to buy, sell or repair controlled radio equipment.

Article 6. Purchase, repair and shipment of controlled radio equipment are subject to the following stipulations:

- 1) For purchase to be made locally in a municipality (or hsien) in the case of government organs, public bodies, public enterprises and technical schools above the grade of college, a certifying letter furnished by the purchasing unit itself shall be required; in the case of individual persons, a certifying letter from the local public security station shall be required; and in the case of manufacturers and retailers who have been issued a business permit, a written statement shall be required. The certifying letter or statement, stating in detail the purpose of the purchase and the names, specifications and quantities of the articles to be purchased, shall be submitted to the Municipal (or Hsien) Public Security Bureau or Branch Bureau for examination and approval. Purchase may be made when a purchase certificate is issued.

APPENDIX I (Page 5)

2) For purchases to be made in another municipality (or hsien)....

3), 4) and 5) are omitted.

Article 7. Licensed radio equipment manufacturers and retailers shall comply with the following stipulations:

- 1) When any change of the title, management, shareholders, or in the scope of the enterprise is to be made, or the establishment is to be moved to another place, or the enterprise is to be transferred or liquidated, it shall be reported to the local Municipal (or hsien) Public Security Bureau in advance. Any change can be only made when the case is examined and approved by the Public Security Bureau.
- 2) A sale or a repair work of controlled radio equipment may be executed only when the customer produces a purchase certificate or repair certificate. Black market dealings or unauthorized repairs are strictly forbidden.
- 3) A business entry book shall be kept. Daily production and sales of controlled radio equipment shall be entered in detail. The entry book together with the purchase and the repair certificates shall be submitted to the local Public Security Bureau to be checked monthly. Delay of submission of false entry are not permitted.

APPENDIX I (Page 6)

- 4) Suspected customers shall be reported to the local public security authorities.

Article 8. All controlled radio equipment of the categories specified in Paragraphs 2) through 6), Article 2, in the possession of government organs, public bodies, public enterprise, schools and individual persons for non-commercial purposes shall be registered.

- 1), 2), 3) are omitted.

- 4) When radio equipment of these categories is sold or transferred, the buyer or receiver shall apply for a purchase certificate in accordance with Paragraph 1), Article 6. The original owner can only sell or transfer his equipment when the buyer presents him with a purchase certificate. The seller shall surrender the purchase certificate together with his original registration certificate to the public security authorities with whom he was registered and have his registration cancelled.

Article 9. Import and export of the controlled radio equipment.

- 1) and 2) are omitted.

Article 10. (Punishment of violators)

Article 11. (Registration of persons who have possessed the equipment under control and who are individual persons, not State or public bodies....)

APPENDIX I (Page 7)

Article 12. The Public Security Departments of the provinces and the Public Security Bureaus of the Municipalities shall, if it is found necessary, formulate supplementary rules in accordance with these Regulations and submit same to the Province or Municipal People's Government for approval, and then to the Central People's Government for ratification and promulgation.

Article 13. (Abolishment of the "Provisional Regulations for Control Radio Equipment" of 1951)

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The omissions are by this author. For a complete version, see Survey of Chin. Mainland Press, Hong Kong, U.S. Consulate General, No. 1106, August 10, 1955, pp. 15-19.

"Hsien" means "county."

DOCUMENT CONTROL DATA - R&D .

(Security classification of title, body of abstract and indexing annotation must be entered when the overall report is classified)

|  |                              |  |  |
|--|------------------------------|--|--|
| 1. ORIGINATING ACTIVITY (Corporate author)<br>Massachusetts Inst. of Tech., Cambridge<br>Center for International Studies  |                              | 2a. REPORT SECURITY CLASSIFICATION<br>Unclassified                                 |  |
| 3. REPORT TITLE<br>RADIO BROADCASTING IN COMMUNIST CHINA   |                              | 2b. GROUP  |  |
| 4. DESCRIPTIVE NOTES (Type of report and inclusive dates)<br>Research-monograph  |                              |  |  |
| 5. AUTHOR(S) (Last name, first name, initial)<br>Liu, Alan P.L.  |                              |  |  |
| 6. REPORT DATE<br>June, 1964   | 7a. TOTAL NO. OF PAGES<br>71 | 7b. NO. OF REFS<br>151   |  |
| 8a. CONTRACT OR GRANT NO.<br>AF 49(638)-1237<br>PROJECT NO.<br>ARPA #920F-9717<br>61445014<br>681313   |                              | 9a. ORIGINATOR'S REPORT NUMBER(S)<br>C/64-8  |  |
|  |                              | 9b. OTHER REPORT NO(S) (Any other numbers that may be assigned)<br>AFOSR 67-0953   |  |
| 10. AVAILABILITY/LIMITATION NOTICES<br>Re MIT. Distribution of this document is unlimited  |                              |  |  |
| 11. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES<br>Tech Other  |                              | 12. SPONSORING/MILITARY ACTIVITY<br>Air Force Office of Scientific Research (SRLB) |  |
| 13. ABSTRACT<br>This monograph deals with the rapid growth of a nationwide radio network in Communist China. The author follows the two major phases of development closely. The first phase (1949-1955) was the development of a radio monitoring system when radio news was transmitted to the public largely through trained monitors. The second phase (1956- ) was the development of a wired radio network when loudspeakers were set up in villages all over the country. The author also describes the development of radio technology, training of personnel, control of equipment, content of broadcasting, and general listening habits. The author finds that because of high illiteracy rates among the people and the controlled nature of broadcasting, the regime uses organized listening extensively with all the functional and dysfunctional consequences thereof. |                              |  |  |

| 14<br>KEY WORDS  | LINK A |    | LINK B |    | LINK C |    |
|--|--------|----|--------|----|--------|----|
|  | ROLE   | WT | ROLE   | WT | ROLE   | WT |
| Monitoring Network<br>Wired Broadcasting<br>Loudspeakers<br>Minority Nationalities |        |    |        |    |        |    |

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